UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

DR. SHIVA AYYADURAI,

Plaintiff,

V.

WILLIAM FRANCIS GALVIN, in his official capacity as the Secretary of the Commonwealth
Of Massachusetts,

Defendant.

BEFORE THE HONORABLE MARK L. WOLF UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

MOTION HEARING

October 30, 2020 10:25 a.m.

John J. Moakley United States Courthouse
Courtroom No. 1
One Courthouse Way
Boston, Massachusetts 02210

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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 THE COURT: Would the clerk please call the case. 3 COURTROOM CLERK: This is civil matter number 20-11889, Dr. Shiva Ayyadurai v. William Francis Galvin. 4 5 THE COURT: Good morning. Would the plaintiff and counsel for the defendant please identify themselves for the 7 record. 8 MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, good morning, Your Honor. This is Dr. Shiva Ayyadurai, also known as Dr. Shiva. I'm the 10:26 10 plaintiff. 11 THE COURT: Thank you. 12 MR. HORNSTINE: Good morning, Your Honor. Assistant Attorney General Adam Hornstine on behalf of the defendant. 13 14 MS. STERMAN: Good morning, Your Honor. Assistant Attorney General Anne Sterman, also on behalf of the defendant. 15 THE COURT: And what bureau of the Attorney General's 16 Office are you in? 17 18 MR. HORNSTINE: We are both from the government 19 bureau, Your Honor. 10:26 20 THE COURT: The same bureau that represented the 21 defendants in the recent Baptiste case concerning the eviction 22 moratorium? 23 MR. HORNSTINE: I believe so, yes, Your Honor. 24 THE COURT: Is Ms. Greaney and Mr. Cray in the 25 government bureau?

1 MR. HORNSTINE: Yes, Your Honor. THE COURT: And is Ms. O'Malley on the videoconference 2 3 as ordered? MR. HORNSTINE: Yes, Your Honor. We have two 4 5 representatives from the Secretary's Office here today. Debra O'Malley and Michelle Tassinari. 7 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. 8 Okay. I apologize for starting now almost 30 minutes late, but this is a motion for a temporary restraining order. 9 10:27 10 There's particular urgency to it because it relates to the 11 election on November 3, several days from now. And it is my 12 goal to decide this motion today, so I wanted to try to organize my thoughts and questions. And like many things, it 13 14 took me longer than I hoped. 15 I think at the outset it would be valuable to get some clarification on the relief that's being sought because the 16 defendant's memo in opposition to the temporary restraining 17 order characterizes it differently than I understood it from 18 19 reading the plaintiff's memorandum. Dr. Shiva, what relief are you seeking immediately and 10:28 20 21 eventually? And more specifically, is it -- well, what relief 22 are you seeking? 23 MR. AYYADURAI: Your Honor, I'm seeking relief to 24 enjoin Secretary Galvin from continuing to contact Twitter to 25 have me banned. And I wanted to lay out a couple of points

here.

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THE COURT: Well, right now I just -- excuse me.

Everybody except the people who intend to speak for the parties should be on mute. So say that again, please, Doctor.

MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, Your Honor. I'm sorry. My goal, the intent of the restraining order is to enjoin Secretary Galvin from contacting Twitter between now and the end of the election, which is November 4th, to have them have me delete — have them force to have me delete tweets and to ban me.

THE COURT: Okay. And this is what prompted the question. That's the way the defendant characterized the relief you're seeking. And the question I'm actually asking is a little broader. Are you seeking a permanent ban -- a permanent injunction against the Secretary of State contacting Twitter essentially about you, or are you just seeking an injunction that would prohibit them from doing that until after the election?

MR. AYYADURAI: Until after the election, which is November 4th, yes. It's a temporary restraining order between now and that period. I'm not seeking something permanent against them.

THE COURT: Okay. But in the case, as opposed to the motion, are you seeking a permanent ban? Because whether or not -- well, are you seeking a permanent ban or essentially one way or another will this case be over next week?

1 MR. AYYADURAI: Well, there is the injunction, Your Honor, which is for injunctive relief, which I'm coming here. 2 The larger case is for the irreparable harm I've suffered 3 during the time that I was banned by the Secretary of State's 4 5 actions. THE COURT: Well, there may be a bit of a problem with 7 you representing yourself. I understand you're an MIT professor, but do you have any legal training? 9 MR. AYYADURAI: No, Your Honor, I do not. I'm 10:31 10 representing myself pro se, so I look to your quidance. 11 THE COURT: Well, I'm not permitted to be your lawyer, 12 but I'm trying at this point to understand the questions. 13 Here is the point. One, as I said in my order of I 14 think October 20, the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution of 15 the Supreme Court has said, "bars suits for money damages against state officials in Federal Court." If you wanted money 16 damages, you might or might not be able to maintain a case in 17 Massachusetts courts but not in United States courts. 18 19 So I could make that ruling formal. But are you 10:32 20 asking -- your complaint asks for money damages, I think \$1.2 21 billion. Are you still asking for money damages in the overall 22 case? 23 MR. AYYADURAI: Your Honor, right now I believe we're here for the temporary restraining order. 24 25 THE COURT: But actually, you're here to answer my

questions.

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MR. AYYADURAI: Oh, okay.

THE COURT: That won't get decided today. We can put it aside. But I can tell you that I would be compelled to decide against you in saying that you can't get money damages in this case.

The question that will have importance after I rule on the temporary restraining order is whether -- well, if I grant the temporary restraining order, it can only run for 14 days, and then in certain circumstances it may be extended. But it can't run for months or years while the case is being fully developed and proceeds to trial.

So that's why I asked the question of whether, in this case, not in the motion for temporary restraining order, the overall case, you're seeking a permanent injunction which would usually be proceeded by an effort to get a preliminary injunction that would prohibit the Secretary of State from communicating about you with Twitter beyond next week.

MR. AYYADURAI: Are you asking me a question, Your Honor?

THE COURT: Yes. I'm trying to understand what the case is about.

MR. AYYADURAI: Right. So Your Honor, my focus has been given what's going on between now and November 4th for the temporary restraining order. So for me, that is really the

focus right now.

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Now, there's the larger case, which is about, you know, the irreparable harm that was done. I had not sought beyond that, beyond the temporary restraining order to go get, you know, permanent injunction for the Secretary of State ever contacting Twitter again in the future.

THE COURT: All right. Because this has some implications. Okay. That's helpful. And we will go I guess one step at a time.

So this is a motion for a temporary restraining order. Generally the parties recognize the standards. They're the same as the standards that apply for a preliminary injunction. The plaintiff has to prove that he's entitled to a temporary restraining order. There are generally four elements. The most important, the essential element is the plaintiff has to show a reasonable likelihood of succeeding on the merits of his claim. Then if he does that, he also has to show essentially that there's an imminent threat of irreparable harm if the request for the temporary restraining order is denied.

And the defendant doesn't address this at all in its memoranda. Perhaps that's because with regard to, when the claim is a violation of the First Amendment, the Supreme Court has found that a violation of the First Amendment even for a minimal period of time unquestionably constitutes irreparable harm or injury. That's *Elrod v. Burns*, 427 U.S. 347, 373.

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Then I would be required to consider the balance of the hardships and whether an injunction would serve the public interest. But in addition, a temporary restraining order is an equitable remedy, so I could consider if there was any inequitable conduct in deciding whether to grant a remedy even if the four conventional factors weighed in favor of granting it.

So that's the framework I intend to employ in deciding this issue. But do the parties want to be heard on whether those are the right questions?

MR. HORNSTINE: No, Your Honor.

MR. AYYADURAI: Same here, Judge.

THE COURT: Okay. All right. Well, in a footnote to the defendant's memorandum, the question is raised as to whether service has been properly accomplished and whether the court even has jurisdiction to decide the temporary restraining order. That argument was not developed in the memorandum. As the First Circuit, District Courts in Massachusetts, including district judges in Massachusetts, including me, have found, arguments raised in a perfunctory way are not -- are usually deemed waived. But this has had to go very fast.

Is it the defendant's position that the court doesn't have jurisdiction to grant a temporary restraining order?

MR. HORNSTINE: Yes, Your Honor, both because of the Eleventh Amendment issue which is briefed and also the mootness

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issue. And plaintiff's recitation today as to what the precise nature of the equitable relief he seeks may also create an additional mootness problem, which is -- and perhaps the court can clarify this through questions to the plaintiff. It appears as if he may be under a new Twitter suspension. I don't know how long that Twitter suspension would be lasting. I may well be mistaken in this regard.

THE COURT: Let me pause you for a moment.

MR. HORNSTINE: I apologize.

THE COURT: You don't have to apologize for this. My question may have been too general. Do you argue that the court lacks jurisdiction to grant a temporary restraining order because service hasn't been accomplished in the way required by Rule 4?

MR. HORNSTINE: I apologize, Your Honor. I was jumping ahead. The defendant's position is that the Secretary has not been properly served in this case. But inasmuch as the court has ordered the defendant to appear and counsel to appear, it has done so to address the motion. My client has not authorized me to accept service, although I had discussed the matter briefly as indicated in our affidavit that was filed yesterday.

So to the extent the court wants to talk about the merits of the motion today, we can certainly do so and are prepared to do so, but the defendant wants to make clear that

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service of a summons within the meaning of Rule 4 has not yet been accomplished.

THE COURT: All right. And we will go to the merits, and I may expand on this when I decide the motion. But for the purposes of a temporary restraining order at least, but not necessarily for a preliminary injunction, I believe that service of process does not have to be properly accomplished.

Rule 65(b)(1), for example, allows a temporary restraining order to be issued without any notice to the defendant in limited circumstances, which implies that service doesn't have to be accomplished properly for the court to have the authority to grant a temporary restraining order, given the urgent nature of such motions. And there are a number of cases to that effect I might cite later.

So I will hear the parties on the merits. But Dr. Shiva, you need to understand that if this case is going to go on beyond the motion for temporary restraining order, you're going to have to accomplish service in a way that is consistent with Rule 4(j), which I pointed -- Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 4(j), which I pointed out in my order to you. Do you understand that?

MR. AYYADURAI: Yes. Thank you, Your Honor. I understand.

THE COURT: All right. So I would like to hear the plaintiff's argument, and I have a number of questions and a

number of questions for the defendant.

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But as I understand it from the submissions, you allege that Twitter ordered you to remove seven tweets and suspended your account for 14 days, I thought it was several weeks ago. I don't know if the suspension is continuing. And this is something that the defendant is honing in on.

Defendant says the harm is not continuing, so either the case is moot, there's no real controversy, or even that I lack jurisdiction because of that.

So I'm curious to know, interested in knowing what happened. Is Twitter doing something to restrict your speech on Twitter now? Did they give you any explanation? And ordinarily I might ask you whether you swear some of these things are true if you tell me something relevant. But did they give you any explanation for why they were removing your tweets or suspending your account? Did they offer any alternatives?

Then I directed you -- and you don't have to start with this, but to me -- and the government didn't raise the point, I think missed the major case of significance in this, a very important case, the First Amendment only bars the government from restricting freedom of speech.

So it appears that Twitter ordinarily is a private entity. Unless there's a sufficient connection between what the government did and what Twitter did, there can't be a First

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Amendment violation. And *Blum* is one case. There are a number of other cases that discuss what is a sufficiently close connection.

So someplace in your presentation you want to tell me what you allege and what you're prepared to testify under oath the Secretary of State did, you know, what Twitter did and what if anything Twitter told you about why they did what they did. Go ahead.

MR. AYYADURAI: Sure. Thank you, Your Honor.

Your Honor, I believe we're here because I claim that the Secretary of State is responsible, they're the primary mover for Twitter's action. And I want to thank Your Honor for drawing our attention to Blum v. Yaretsky. Blum v. Yaretsky is most appropriate because the plaintiff — there the plaintiff sued the nursing home because he asserted that the nursing home's action was state action.

In my case I have overwhelming evidence that Twitter's action was directly Secretary Galvin's action, therefore

Secretary Galvin is the correct person to sue. I'm not suing

Twitter.

In my case I've relied exactly on the same court ruling, and I'm able to show that I can meet the standard that the government encouraged the private actor to act. Meaning Twitter was a proxy for Secretary Galvin. Twitter's action was the government's action. So the action of the private actor

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became the action of the government. Here, Your Honor, I would wish to provide you some background of why Twitter acted as Secretary Galvin's proxy.

THE COURT: And what you're about to tell me -- here,
I have to decide the case based on evidence. So if we weren't
going so fast, I would tell you you've got to put this in an
affidavit and be prepared to be cross-examined on it. But do
you swear that what you're about to tell me is the truth, the
whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God, as you
understand it?

MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, Your Honor, as I understand it, what I'm about to tell you is the truth and nothing but the truth, swear to God.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

MR. AYYADURAI: Okay. To give you some background,
Your Honor, for four years now all social media companies have
been under tremendous pressure to act against, quote-unquote,
"election misinformation." This pressure has been unrelenting
from all sides, congress, states, politicians, Department of
Justice, the public and the press and public opinion. In fact,
it never let up after the previous 2016 election.

In fact, just this week Massachusetts U.S. Senator

Markey demanded in the senate that Facebook and other social

media companies actively shut down voices that he deemed to be

pedaling, quote-unquote, "election misinformation." Twitter, a

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publicly traded corporation, is not immune from these strong pressures. And here in this case it received a strong complaint from Secretary Galvin that claimed my tweets were, quote-unquote, "election misinformation."

THE COURT: Do you know what the words of the communication were from Secretary Galvin's office to Twitter?

Because I didn't --

MR. AYYADURAI: As I know, Your Honor, there was a -when I tweeted out the tweets, which were banned, there was an
organization, there was a fact-checking organization which
contacted Ms. O'Malley, and that organization reported that she
had told them that I was putting out election misinformation.
And that's in one of the footnotes. And that is a fact that
his office has confirmed by affidavit.

In fact, in the current climate one can imagine fewer dog whistles more potent than the words "election misinformation," which is what they used. It was inevitable and entirely predictable that Twitter would not ignore an official complaint from the Massachusetts Secretary of State that my Twitter feed spread, quote-unquote, "election misinformation." In my view, the evidence is overwhelming.

THE COURT: Well, why is it -- I mean, if this case goes on beyond the temporary restraining order, this is information that's going to be highly relevant. In other words, does Twitter always sanction a speaker if a government

agency says that the speaker is disseminating false information 1 about an election, and is that known, what Twitter's practice 2 is? MR. AYYADURAI: Well, I think the -- what I'm 4 5 asserting here, Your Honor, given the conditions, because of the immense pressure that Twitter is under, and this has been 7 going on since 2016, on this area of election misinformation, 8 especially the gravitas of the Office of the Secretary of State putting that forward, sending that to them is going to have 10:51 10 immense pressure on a publicly traded company. 11 THE COURT: Do you know how -- and Ms. O'Malley is on 12 the call, and I intend to ask her these questions. Do you know how she communicated with Twitter? 13 14 MR. AYYADURAI: I believe per her affidavit she communicated to them electronically. 15 THE COURT: But I wonder whether there's an email or a 16 post on a website. 17 18 MR. AYYADURAI: Twitter has a form, Your Honor, where 19 you submit your complaint electronically to them. I'm not aware of her communicating through email but electronically 10:52 20 21 through the means that they provide. 22 THE COURT: And do you know whether or not she identified herself as somebody who works for the Secretary of 23 State in Massachusetts? 24 25 MR. AYYADURAI: I believe she did, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay. She'll know.

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MR. AYYADURAI: Yes. So to give you background, I've been on Twitter for close to ten years. And in my view the evidence is overwhelming because I've been on Twitter for ten years, and I've tweeted many controversial opinions on hot button issues like election fraud, the pandemic mandatory mask rules, mandatory vaccinations, and Twitter has allowed me to exercise my freedom of expression without hindrance in those ten years.

In fact, through most of September 2020, I did tweet about election fraud in Massachusetts, between September 1 through September 25 in fact. And Twitter had no objection. All of those tweets are still public. In fact, my specific tweet on Massachusetts destroying ballot images is still public. It is vital to note that this tweet went viral all over the world, and Twitter took no action to delete it or to ban me for posting that tweet.

So which tweet did Twitter force me to delete for the first time in ten years and then resulting in my banning for multiple weeks? There were four tweets that relate to screenshots of an email conversation with Counsel Tassinari in Secretary Galvin's office which documented that the Secretary's Office claimed reliance on some as yet unspecified state law justifying their office deleting ballot images that were generated during a federal election.

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The emails confirmed that the ballot images had indeed been destroyed in violation of federal law. This is why Secretary Galvin moved to shut me down on Twitter and have those tweets deleted.

As long as I made allegations and I was regarded in their mind as, quote-unquote, "some loose cannon," Secretary Galvin was least bothered about, quote-unquote, "election misinformation" from my Twitter account. It was the documentary evidence in violation of federal law in those emails that is the motive for Secretary Galvin's action. This is a central point of my argument, Your Honor.

Now, Your Honor, I referred to the main sentence in Blum v. Yaretsky that you kindly quoted in your order which says, quote, "A state normally can be held for a private decision only when it has exercised coercive power or has provided such significant encouragement that the choice must in law be deemed to be that of the state," end quote.

In my case here the evidence is clear that Twitter's actions were the Secretary's actions. The specific deleted tweets are intimately linked to violation of federal law by Secretary Galvin and nothing else. Election misinformation --

THE COURT: Let me pause you for a moment.

MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: As I pointed out to you, the fact that you're representing yourself means I have to liberally construe

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your allegations but not relieve you of the obligations of the
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         rules. So where in the record -- perhaps it's in the verified
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         complaint -- do I find these four tweets?
                  MR. AYYADURAI: I do not believe they're in the
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         verified complaint, Your Honor.
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                  THE COURT: Are they in evidence before me? Have they
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         been submitted to the court?
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                  MR. AYYADURAI: I'm sorry. I think they are -- I'm
         sorry. The actual tweets aren't there, but the description of
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         those tweets are there in the verified complaint. Where I
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         shared that, I shared the email conversation between myself and
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         Counsel Tassinari.
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                  THE COURT: Hold on a second.
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                  MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, there are four email screenshots.
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                  THE COURT: I know, I've seen them in the materials
         I've been reading. I don't see it in the complaint. Is at
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         least one of them in the defendant's memo, Mr. Hornstine?
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                  MR. HORNSTINE: That's correct, Your Honor. If the
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         court wishes, there is a screenshot of not four tweets but a
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         singular tweet that the Secretary reported to Twitter. It is
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         contained in I think both of the witnesses' affidavits. I'm
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         double-checking to see if it's in our memorandum as well.
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                  THE COURT: It doesn't matter. I've got the
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         affidavit. Thank you. Let me get it.
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                  MR. HORNSTINE: If you're looking at Ms. Tassinari's
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affidavit, it appears in paragraph 8. If you're looking at Ms. O'Malley's, it is paragraph 3.

THE COURT: So this is paragraph 8 of docket 15-2.

Paragraph 8 says, Ms. Tassinari's affidavit, "On September 24,

2020, Ayyadurai tweeted this false claim," then it has a

screenshot of a tweet. "Breaking: Massachusetts destroys over

one million ballots in U.S. senate primary race, committing

#ElectionFraud. Mass. elections attorney confirms to

#Shiva4Senate ballot images - used for counting votes - that

must be saved by federal law for 22 months are nowhere to be

found!"

So the evidence I have, Doctor, is that -- and you'll get a chance to test this if the case goes on -- that there was a complaint about this tweet. I think that's the defendant's position. But anyway, why don't you go ahead. So you say there were four?

MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, Your Honor. The defendant has left out -- there are a series of four emails, and she has left out -- the defendant, Counsel Tassinari, has left out the fourth email where I write back to her saying, you know, please show me the statute again, and you've actually violated federal law. We have them. We can submit them. But there were four emails.

Those four screenshots were said in what's called a threaded tweet, and it is that tweet that Twitter had me delete

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         and resulted in my banning. In fact, what's interesting is
         they did not --
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                  THE COURT: Here, stop for just a moment.
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Sure.
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                  THE COURT: And I don't tweet, so you should not
         assume that I understand what everybody else understands.
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         have an account and I get some tweets. I don't often read
         them, and I've never sent a tweet.
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                  What did you say, "threaded tweets"?
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                  MR. AYYADURAI: Yes. Basically it's a tweet where you
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         can have multiple tweets together. So if you're talking about
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         a subject, you can connect them. So it's essentially four
         tweets, but they're under -- they're one after the other.
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                  THE COURT: So it's like a chain of emails?
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, exactly, like a chain of emails,
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         but they're considered four independent tweets interconnected.
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                  THE COURT: And what is the fourth one?
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                  MR. AYYADURAI: The fourth tweet is the one that I
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         sent back. So the first tweet that Ms. Tassinari sent me was,
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         We are prohibited from saving ballot images. That's
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         paraphrasing it. I wrote back, What is the Massachusetts
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         statute or law? Then she writes back, if you see the one that
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         she gave, that, Again, we don't have to save -- ballot images
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         are not stored. We only save the paper.
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                  And then the fourth email I sent back to them is, You
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violated federal law, that you have to save these ballot images, and that tweet is missing. Those four screenshots I shared on Twitter.

Those were the screenshots, those were the four tweets that Twitter had me delete. They did not have me delete the one that you're seeing right there. That's what's important. That was sent on the 24th, 25th I believe. It was only these tweets where I'm exposing the Secretary of State violating federal law. That's what Secretary Galvin had deleted, and the specific deleted tweets are intimately linked to violation of federal law by the Secretary of State.

And election misinformation in my view is a dog whistle that the Secretary used to significantly induce Twitter in the present political climate to do his bidding. And this is why, unlike Blum, I correctly identified Secretary Galvin as a sole defendant. Because for Secretary Galvin to deny all responsibility for a sequence of events that have taken place is consciously dishonest.

He knew full well that as the elections officer for the State of Massachusetts, while we are in a heated election cycle, his complaint would carry enormous weight, and it did carry enormous weight. Twitter's response was immediate. They forced me to delete those four tweets of that email conversation with Ms. Tassinari.

They didn't force me to delete that other tweet. And

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they banned me for weeks in the midst of my campaign and forced me to delete any tweets specifically referring to that email conversation.

So Secretary Galvin's attempt to deny responsibility also violates U.S. Supreme Court's doctrine of cat's paw liability, which I understand was accepted by the Supreme Court in *Staub v. Proctor*, where one person can be responsible for another person's action.

Now, the defendant may assert that cat's paw is applied mainly in the employment context, but it perfectly describes this action here. Secretary of State Galvin induced Twitter using the infamatur of his office which neither affiant denies to be his cat's paw.

Secretary Galvin is consciously making a cat's paw defense by essentially saying, It wasn't me; it was Twitter that blocked the candidate in the midst of his campaign.

Twitter had never and would never have suspended plaintiff for a Secretary of State making an official complaint. In fact,

Twitter has no interest in blocking public access to one particular email conversation.

Finally, the official spokesperson and legal counsel represent the official view of the office of -- meaning Secretary Galvin was actively involved in that decision, and as the saying goes, the buck stops at his desk. So that's one of the first points I want to make in my argument.

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The second point I would like to address is Secretary

Galvin has claimed he engaged in government speech when he

complained to Twitter. In the United States, government speech

does not trump political speech during an election campaign.

Both affiants swear that they indeed did inform

Twitter about plaintiff's tweets were inaccurate, even though

the Supreme Judicial Court has ruled that a candidate's speech

is allowed to be inaccurate. Whether they are accurate or

inaccurate is irrelevant. Punishing candidates for inaccurate

claims during a campaign is what is unconstitutional.

As I understand, I'm not a lawyer, but from my reading, there's no difference between the defendant's action and charging a candidate under the law that the Supreme Judicial Court invalidated in Commonwealth v. Melissa Lucas.

THE COURT: Well, stop. Your claims, as I've understood the complaint, are under the United States

Constitution, not under the Massachusetts Constitution. So this needs to be analyzed as a matter of First Amendment jurisprudence.

But if you're reasonably likely to succeed on the *Blum* point that Twitter's action and the facts likely to be proven in this case were state action, then your speech was political speech. It's protected by the First Amendment and -- I believe the defendants will address this -- subject to strict scrutiny. The government would have to show it had a compelling interest

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and that this was narrowly tailored, basically the only way to satisfy that interest. That's why I pointed to Blum, there's a line of cases deriving from Blum, because I do think that's the heart of the issue at the moment. And then the question also, I'll be discussing this with Mr. Hornstine, there's a question of mootness, although I think the government is mistaken as to who has the burden of proof that this won't recur and evade review, which is why I pointed out Already to you. So anyway, you can keep going. MR. AYYADURAI: Yes. Finalizing on this point, Your Honor, I believe interfering in a candidate's ability to campaign in retaliation for the content of his tweet is specifically prohibited by the U.S. Constitution. THE COURT: Are you being restricted in any way now? Are you under any suspension now? MR. AYYADURAI: Well, Your Honor, what happened was any time -- so I got off suspension. Any time I referred to those emails, the Tassinari emails, anything related to that I got suspended again. And that is why I'm concerned --THE COURT: Suspended or deleted? MR. AYYADURAI: Forced to delete, forced to delete them and suspended. THE COURT: Okay. Now, I see your email says you invented the internet. I didn't.

MR. AYYADURAI: I invented the first email system.

1 THE COURT: I didn't. So I'm trying to understand the 2 distinction between being required to delete a tweet and being 3 suspended. I thought, perhaps mistakenly, that you were ordered to delete -- I thought it was seven tweets, according 4 5 to your complaint, and that you were suspended for 14 days, and I thought that meant you couldn't send any tweets for 14 days. 7 Did I understand that right? 8 MR. AYYADURAI: Yes. The distinction is Twitter -- if 9 there's a tweet, the tweets that they have, you have to remove 11:08 10 them, and they give you a suspension for a certain number of 11 They do both, Your Honor. So they force you to remove 12 them and they suspend you. 13 THE COURT: Then you can't -- if you're suspended, is 14 it your position that you're not permitted to send any tweet? 15 MR. AYYADURAI: Any tweets at all. THE COURT: So you couldn't tweet, "I'm really 16 disappointed the Patriots lost last weekend." 17 18 MR. AYYADURAI: Anything. And there was only 39 days, 19 when this occurred, left in the election, and I use Twitter as my main medium. And I have a quarter of a million followers. 11:09 20 21 My prospective voters are on it. People from Massachusetts 22 watch my tweets. So this has been very, very hampering. And I've been tweeting for ten years. I've built my audience very, 23 24 very carefully.

THE COURT: All right. But are you today suspended

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from tweeting?
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                  MR. AYYADURAI: Yes.
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                  THE COURT: Okay, so you are.
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                  MR. AYYADURAI: Yes. And it just happened, because I
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         was unsuspended, and then we had various rallies which I was
         tweeting. Then right when I referred to that email
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         conversation, again I was suspended. So this is ongoing.
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                  THE COURT: For how long are you suspended now?
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                  MR. AYYADURAI: I believe it's for another two days.
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         But none of the other tweets got flagged or removed. It's only
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         when I refer to those email conversations, Your Honor.
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                  THE COURT: So it's your contention under oath that
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         it's only when you refer to your criticism of the Secretary of
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         State for allegedly acting illegally that Twitter requires that
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         you delete that tweet and then suspends you for some period of
         time?
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    17
                  MR. AYYADURAI:
                                  Yes.
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                  THE COURT: You say there were two more days left on
    19
         the current suspension. When did that one start?
11:10 20
                  MR. AYYADURAI:
                                  About three days ago.
                  THE COURT: So this is a five-day suspension?
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    22
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Yeah, I believe that to be true, yeah.
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                  THE COURT: How long was the first one?
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                  MR. AYYADURAI: Well, the first one they did was seven
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         days and another seven days. So about 14 days, a little bit
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over 14 days. 14.5 hours -- 14.5 days, to be exact.

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THE COURT: It was seven days, and then did something cause them to add another seven days?

MR. AYYADURAI: Yes. So the first time I did it was for the four tweets. Then when I got off Twitter I again referred to those emails, and I was talking about the violation of federal law, and again, bam, I was banned again. So it's reference to those emails, reference to the violation of federal law by the Secretary of State. This is ten years, 30,000 tweets, I've never been thrown off Twitter but by this.

So getting back to the issue of government speech, government official being blocked from interfering in a campaign simply because he claims a candidate made an inaccurate statement is not, quote-unquote, "stifling government speech," as the defendant has asserted in their opposition.

And as I understand, people are allowed to make inaccurate and even completely false statements during a political campaign as one of many in a marketplace of ideas.

And a government official cannot be refereeing what is accurate or inaccurate political speech of a candidate. As I understand it, it's simply against the law.

And this is in addition to the fact that the tweets that Secretary Galvin claimed were a threat to voters displayed emails from Counsel Tassinari that documented the office's

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conscious violation of federal law. Quote-unquote, "government speech" may not serve as a convenient pretext for shutting down political speech on matters of great public concern.

Furthermore, no amount of support from the, quote-unquote,

"intelligence community" that the opposition refers to can overcome this point of law.

And the third point I would like to make is the opposition declaring Eleventh Amendment immunity bars all of my claims. This case falls squarely under the Ex Parte Young exception to Eleventh Amendment immunity. And I'd like to explain this. This emergency motion for prospective injunctive relief, meaning in the future, names a state official in his official capacity. The relief sought here is for protection from specific actions in the future by a state official. The defendant's opposition is absolutely incorrect and mischaracterizing the motion for TRO as dealing only with past action.

Eleventh Amendment immunity does not apply to this motion, and it is properly within the jurisdiction of this court. It is a live controversy, as Election Day is still a week away from now, and it must not be dismissed as moot, which distinguishes from the Already v. Nike case.

Your Honor, after the initial suspension of 14 days,

Twitter allowed me to post election fraud, no problem, but the

minute I again mention the emails from Galvin's office, bam,

again I was forced to delete that tweet again.

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It is assured, Your Honor, that between now and November 3 that Secretary Galvin will have Twitter silence my speech, specifically, I repeat, specifically regarding emails from his office that document his violation of federal law.

So yes, his behavior is both ongoing and assured to reoccur. And given the election is not over, the future is still in play. Defendant Galvin can still call Twitter and have me muted until Election Day. That's why the TRO must be issued today. I've already suffered irreparable harm during this election campaign. I should not be forced to suffer further harm from Secretary Galvin's unconstitutional action and will cause him absolutely no harm.

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. AYYADURAI: I'm sorry, Your Honor.

THE COURT: That's okay. Go ahead. Why don't you finish. And I'm going to give Mr. Hornstine an opportunity to question you, cross-examine you if he wants. He doesn't have to. But there may be some questions that I didn't think to ask that the defendant thinks will be helpful. Go ahead.

MR. AYYADURAI: So on this matter, Eleventh Amendment immunity, I respectfully submit that Secretary Galvin has deliberately chosen to muddy the picture by dragging in the monetary claims. The court must not be distracted from this in making its decision on the TRO.

And I have a minor -- and the last point I want to make, Your Honor, in closing, is the evidence is overwhelming that Secretary Galvin strongly encouraged Twitter to mute me solely because I revealed official email documents from his own legal counsel that showed his office violated federal law. This was not, quote-unquote, "election misinformation" or hyperbole or fiction. The evidence is clear he will do it again if the court does not stop him.

I strongly urge the court to issue this injunction today. And furthermore, there's zero harm to Secretary Galvin being enjoined from muting my speech on Twitter for a total now of a remaining four days. Thank you, Your Honor. I'm available for any clarifications.

THE COURT: All right. And Mr. Hornstine, are there any questions relating to some of these factual assertions that you would like to ask Dr. Shiva about?

MR. HORNSTINE: If it pleases the court, yes, I would like to ask a few follow-up questions.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

EXAMINATION OF SHIVA AYYADURAI

EXAMINATION BY MR. HORNSTINE:

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- Q. So let me begin by asking this: Have you ever looked at
- 23 Twitter's Terms of Use Agreement?
- 24 A. Not their entire one, but I've looked at parts of it.
- 25 Q. Are you aware that Twitter requires users to agree to

- certain terms of use and to abide by certain policies as a condition of participating on that social media platform?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. Are you aware that as part of these terms of use that
- 5 Twitter, the company, has a specific policy on civic integrity,
- 6 as they call it?
- 7 A. Something in there, but I'm not exactly aware of the exact
- 8 term.
- 9 Q. So you've never read the civic integrity policy of
- 11:17 10 Twitter, have you?
 - 11 A. I may have seen it, but I don't remember it exactly.
 - 12 Q. Are you aware whether or not the policy provides that
 - 13 users cannot use Twitter's services for the purpose of
 - 14 | manipulating or interfering in elections or other civic
 - 15 processes?
 - 16 A. That may be true.
 - 17 | THE COURT: We may want -- actually, I'll let you do
 - 18 this. Go ahead.
 - MR. HORNSTINE: Okay. Very well. Thank you, Your
- 11:18 20 | Honor. I'll try to keep this brief at least.
 - 21 THE COURT: If I think you're wasting time, I'll tell
 - 22 you.
 - MR. HORNSTINE: Thank you, Your Honor.
 - 24 BY MR. HORNSTINE:
 - 25 Q. Are you aware that as part of its civil -- as part of its

- 1 civic integrity policy and also as its general terms of use
- 2 that Twitter reserves the right to discipline users, for lack
- 3 of a better word, for violating these terms of use?
- 4 A. That may be true.
- 5 Q. Okay. Are you aware that Twitter can delete tweets that
- 6 it deems in violation of its terms of use?
- 7 A. I wasn't sure about that. I didn't know about that.
- 8 Q. Are you aware that Twitter can suspend users for violation
- 9 of policies or terms of use?
- 11:18 10 A. That's possible.
 - 11 Q. And are you aware that Twitter can also label tweets as
 - 12 false or misleading for violations of terms of use or its civic
 - 13 integrity policy?
 - 14 A. That may be possible.
 - 15 Q. And you understand that the sanctions are imposed by
 - 16 Twitter itself, correct?
 - 17 A. This was induced by the Secretary of State.
 - 18 Q. That's not what I'm asking, sir. What I'm asking is this.
 - 19 Are you aware that any sanctions imposed by Twitter, that that
- is Twitter's decision to make, not anyone else's decision to
 - 21 make?
 - 22 A. Well, that's not completely true.
 - 23 Q. So you disagree with that assessment?
 - 24 A. Yes.
 - 25 \ Q. And what do you base that disagreement on, sir?

A. Well, as I shared in my presentation on the merits, that in this situation, there's an enormous -- Twitter is a publicly traded company. A publicly traded company's stock prices affect them significantly in the stock market.

So given the preponderance of pressure on Twitter to watch out for election information, the gravitas of the Secretary of State contacting them is what induced them to do this.

- Q. Have you personally observed any communication between the Secretary's Office and Twitter concerning its decision to suspend or sanction you?
- 11 A. I would -- no, I have not, except what has been reported.
- 12 Q. Have you ever witnessed anyone from the Secretary's Office
- coerce Twitter to suspend or sanction you from your use of
- 14 Twitter?

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- A. We have reports as is reported in that article and
- multiply in the A.P. and Reuters that the Secretary of State's
- 17 Office contacted Twitter.
- 18 Q. That's not what I'm asking. Let me ask a more clear
- 19 question. I'm not asking what news reports you've read. I'm
- 11:20 20 asking have you personally ever witnessed anyone from the
 - 21 Secretary's Office coerce Twitter to suspend or otherwise
 - 22 | sanction you?
 - 23 A. Can you define "witnessed"? I don't understand what you
 - 24 mean "witnessed."
 - 25 Q. That you observed with your own five senses, that you

- 1 personally saw. Not someone else's report. Your own.
- 2 A. I don't know how I would witness that. I'm not in the
- 3 | Secretary of State's physical office.
- 4 Q. So then you have not witnessed that. Is that fair to say?
- 5 A. The report said they did it.
- 6 Q. So what you are basing your complaint on is then reports,
- 7 | not personal observations; is that correct?
- 8 A. It was confirmed in the affidavit that was submitted that
- 9 they did contact Twitter.
- 11:21 10 Q. Okay. So you have no idea personally what the content of
 - 11 the report that the Secretary's Office made to Twitter was. Is
 - 12 that fair to say?
 - 13 A. No. We do have information. They describe my tweets as,
 - 14 unquote-unquote, "election misinformation."
 - 15 Q. Have you ever seen the report that the Secretary made to
 - 16 Twitter --
 - 17 | A. No.
 - 18 Q. -- about your September 24 tweet?
 - 19 A. Have I ever actually seen their communication? Is that
- 11:22 20 what you're asking me?
 - 21 Q. That's correct.
 - 22 A. No. We have reports of it, though.
 - 23 Q. Have you ever seen it?
 - 24 A. Well, I've seen the affidavit that they just submitted,
 - 25 which they confirm that they contacted Twitter.

1 THE COURT: Here. This is getting a little 2 repetitious. The affidavit -- and I intend to ask about this -- doesn't provide the content of what was communicated. I'm looking at Ms. O'Malley's affidavit, and she says 4 5 in Paragraph 5, "Attorney Tassinari asked me to report Mr. Ayyadurai's tweet as false using the mechanism within Twitter 7 for reporting tweets that violate the terms and conditions of that platform." 9 Paragraph 6. "Per Attorney Tassinari's request, I submitted a report of Ayyadurai's false tweet online through 11:22 10 11 the Twitter platform." 12 Paragraph 7. "In response I received what appeared to be an automated email response informing me that Twitter would 13 14 investigate my report and contact me if they needed additional information." 15 Paragraph 8. "I received no further communication 16 17 from Twitter." So this tells us there's a report. Is there another 18 19 document that you believe indicates what the content of that report was? 11:23 20 21 MR. AYYADURAI: I'm not sure how discovery works and 22 I'm not a lawyer, but literally within moments, it was 23 immediate and swift that I was asked to remove the four 24 particular email screenshots, tweets of my communication with 25 Ms. Tassinari where I exposed that the Secretary of State was

- violating federal law. That was the immediate result. And
 I've never been banned, to the best of my knowledge.
- THE COURT: I don't want to hear the argument.
- 4 Mr. Hornstine, why don't you resume if you want.
- 5 MR. HORNSTINE: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 6 BY MR. HORNSTINE:
- 7 Q. As a frequent Twitter user, are you aware that any Twitter
- 8 user can make a complaint about any other tweet on the social
- 9 media platform?
- 11:24 10 A. That's -- yes, that's possible, yeah.
 - 11 Q. So is it possible then that people other than the
 - 12 | Secretary's Office lodged complaints about your tweets?
 - 13 A. That could be possible.
 - 14 Q. Okay. Let me ask about the chronology for suspensions.
 - 15 | So you were initially suspended on September 26 of 2020; is
 - 16 that correct?
 - 17 A. It may have been in the morning, because when I woke up is
 - 18 when I saw it, I think around 8:00 or 9:00 a.m.
 - 19 Q. So we can say on or about September 26 is when you were
- 11:25 20 | initially suspended by Twitter; is that correct?
 - 21 A. Yes.
 - 22 Q. And this first suspension you claim was a direct result of
 - 23 the Secretary's report to Twitter. Is that your contention?
 - 24 A. It was not a claim. It is a fact because that's the four
 - 25 tweets that came up to be removed. It's not a contention.

- 1 It's fact.
- Q. Okay. But you just said that other people may have lodged
- 3 | complaints with Twitter about your tweets; is that correct?
- 4 A. Well, you said that.
- 5 Q. You agreed that it was possible, did you not?
- 6 A. Not in reference to this.
- 7 Q. Okay. But you have since been suspended additional times
- 8 by Twitter; is that correct?
- 9 A. It was right after that that it was -- the actual state of
- events was that after those four tweets, immediately after
 - 11 that, when I tried to log in, then another three tweets
 - 12 referring to those emails were also suspended for seven days.
 - 13 It was contiguous.
 - 14 Q. Let me ask a clarifying question. So you were initially
 - 15 suspended around September 26; is that correct?
 - 16 A. Yes.
 - 17 Q. And then when did your second suspension begin?
 - 18 A. So that was for a half a day. And immediately when I
 - 19 logged in, they then suspended me for another three tweets
- 11:26 20 which are in reference to these emails where I was talking
 - 21 about the Secretary of State violating federal law.
 - 22 Q. You're only familiar with one complaint that the Secretary
 - 23 | made to Twitter; is that correct?
 - 24 A. Well, that one complaint has to do with those four emails,
 - 25 and the other three tweets are related to those four emails.

- 1 Q. So your initial suspension -- excuse me. Let me strike
- 2 that question. Looking at your Twitter account, I see no
- 3 | tweets that you made between September 26 and September 3; is
- 4 that correct?
- 5 A. September 3? That's going backward in time.
- 6 Q. October 3. I apologize, sir.
- 7 A. Yeah. So that's when I was suspended for about seven
- 8 days.
- 9 Q. Then you were suspended again -- or excuse me. I see no
- 11:27 10 tweets on your account between October 6 and October 15; is
 - 11 that correct?
 - 12 A. Exactly. That was the second suspension.
 - 13 | Q. Okay. And are you aware of any second instance in which
 - 14 | the Secretary's Office made a complaint relating to your
 - 15 tweets?
 - 16 A. Well, this is all related to any time the reference is
 - 17 | made to Secretary of State and those email conversations.
 - 18 | Because when I started --
 - 19 Q. Sir, that's not my question --
- 11:27 20 THE COURT: I think the answer -- I'll give you a
 - 21 chance later perhaps to argue this. But do you -- the question
 - 22 is are you aware that the Secretary of State communicated with
 - 23 | Twitter a second time about you, or is it your contention that
 - 24 the first one has enduring effect?
 - MR. AYYADURAI: That is my contention, Your Honor.

- Because of the gravitas of the office, given the pressure that
 Twitter is under, if the Secretary of State with bare gravitas
 calls them and uses a dog whistle of election misinformation,
 this is basically branding you. And that's what the Secretary
 of State did with their office's gravitas. This is no light
 matter. I've been on Twitter for ten years.
 - THE COURT: I understand. I have that point. That's not the question. Listen to the questions, listen to the questions, say what's necessary to answer the question fully. Don't add anything at this point.
- - 12 THE COURT: Go ahead, Mr. Hornstine, if you have more.

MR. AYYADURAI: Thank you, Your Honor.

- MR. HORNSTINE: Thank you, Your Honor. So just a few
- 14 more questions about the chronology.
- 15 BY MR. HORNSTINE:
- Q. So again, to tie it back, you had another suspension which
- 17 ended around October 15; is that correct?
- 18 A. Yes.

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- 19 Q. And I see that your last tweet on Twitter was on or about
- 11:28 20 October 25; is that correct?
 - 21 A. That's correct, yes.
 - 22 Q. Okay. And you have not tweeted since then; is that
 - 23 correct?
 - 24 A. Yes.
 - 25 \ Q. And you believe that you are currently under a new

suspension for Twitter, and my math may be wrong here, so 1 correct me if I'm wrong, that would lapse on or about Election 2 Day; is that correct? From my understanding, it should be around Saturday or 5 Sunday. Saturday or Sunday? Ο. 7 Α. Yes. Okay. And are you aware whether or not, one way or the Q. other, the Secretary's Office has made additional complaints 11:29 10 about any of your tweets during the month of October? 11 I am not aware, but the two tweets that resulted in the 12 second suspension again referred back to those emails. 13 MR. HORNSTINE: If I may just have one moment, Your 14 Honor. Let me look through my notes. I think Your Honor covered most of the rest of it. 15 16 THE COURT: Thank you. MR. HORNSTINE: I think I have nothing further, Your 17 18 Honor. Thank you for the opportunity. 19 THE COURT: Okay. Why don't we turn to the 11:30 20

THE COURT: Okay. Why don't we turn to the defendant's argument then. You raised a threshold issue in your memorandum claiming that -- it's on page 10, "Plaintiff's section 1983 claim is barred because the Secretary is not a person who may be sued under 1983." You cite, among other things, footnote 10 of Will, 491 U.S. 58, 71, note 10. Is that one of your contentions? Did I read it right?

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MR. HORNSTINE: I'm pulling up the motion. But yes, it is correct to -- this largely dovetails with the Eleventh Amendment piece. And again, perhaps Your Honor's question at the outset about what relief is being sought is clarifying. Since there are limitations on the ability, as Your Honor is well aware, of plaintiff to sue an elected official in his official capacity --

THE COURT: Well, I am aware of Will, and this is part of the reason I asked whether you were in the government bureau, because I think you've argued Will exactly wrong.

I'll listen to you. But footnote -- I mean, I just finished two months of litigation and wrote a 102-page decision in Baptiste v. the Governor and Secretary of Housing and Economic Affairs.

The government bureau didn't take the position that there couldn't be a suit for prospective injunctive relief because it was barred by Will. I don't think that was an oversight. You can argue about whether there's any ongoing harm, whether it's going to recur, whether the declaratory judgment would be sufficient and I shouldn't issue an injunction. But I'm just reading this, it's a one-paragraph argument, but it's the substantive argument you made before the others. If you're right, we can go home pretty soon, but I don't think you're right. So why don't you tell me why you wrote that.

MR. HORNSTINE: Yes, Your Honor. Does the court wish that I should address the Eleventh Amendment issue separately?

THE COURT: Not -- you'll get a chance to do that separately. But I don't see a reference here -- well, there is the Eleventh Amendment in the last sentence. But I mean, Will states in footnote 10 -- the question is whether -- so section 93 provides a remedy, it doesn't provide any rights, you explain that, and a remedy against a person who violates the statutes or laws of the United States.

And footnote 10 says, "Of course a state official in his or her official capacity, when sued for injunctive relief, would be a person under 1983 because official capacity actions for prospective relief are not treated as actions against the state, not barred by the Eleventh Amendment." So I don't understand why I got this argument in this case and didn't get it in *Baptiste*, except that it's not right.

MR. HORNSTINE: I understand, Your Honor. Again, as I said a moment ago, I think Your Honor's question about the precise relief being sought is clarifying to this argument.

And I'm happy to step away from this argument. Again, it was again clear -- or unclear at least at the outset as to whether or not the plaintiff, who again is proceeding pro se, is attempting to seek damages against defendant in his official capacity.

THE COURT: But that's a different issue. I cited you

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the case October 20, Quern.

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MR. HORNSTINE: Correct, the Quern case.

THE COURT: It's clearly barred, but that's not what you're discussing here. You're making a different argument here.

MR. HORNSTINE: I agree, but it primarily proceeds from the damages piece, and I'm happy to move on.

THE COURT: It doesn't say that. You're happy to move on. Frankly, I'm not. You represent the government. You should always be accurately describing the law. But here you've got a pro se litigant on the other side. And, you know, we're talking about the nuances of constitutional law, and the case is going very quickly.

And, you know, this is not the only case I have. I've been dealing for the last couple of days with an MS-13 murder case. But this is consequential. We're talking about fundamental constitutional law a couple of days before an election. So I expect that if the Attorney General is going to give me a brief, I'm going to take it seriously. But I was surprised to see this argument because it's not an argument that your bureau of your office has made to me before as recently as in the last two months in another suit against a cabinet secretary and the governor. And I've been spending time trying to think if I've misunderstood Will. I don't think I did.

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But, anyway. Because I mean, you also didn't deal with the fundamental -- what to me, I pointed out to you, is the fundamental issue in this case. Of course private conduct is not governed by the First Amendment, but the question is whether what Twitter did can fairly be -- was most appropriately characterized probably at the outcome of this case as government conduct. That's the Blum line of cases. Were you aware of Blum before I cited it to you yesterday?

MR. HORNSTINE: I'm aware of the line of cases, yes,
Your Honor. And we attempted to address it again, with
apologies for perhaps moving too quickly and too inartfully,
the idea that plaintiff overlooked the critical fact that the
Secretary could not indeed, is not empowered to suspend anybody
under Twitter. And I'd be happy to more directly address the
Blum case and to talk about what the --

THE COURT: I want you to. That's why I pointed it out in my order yesterday. But you didn't address at all in this memorandum the circumstances in which conduct by a private party is state action for, in this case, First Amendment purposes.

So I know we're on a motion for a temporary restraining order. We're all going fast. But on October 20, I issued an order saying that the defendant should be prepared to respond promptly once service is effected. So it's not like you had one day to do this. More like you had ten days to do

it almost, eight days. Anyway, go ahead.

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MR. HORNSTINE: Yes, Your Honor. I'd be happy to do this. And I believe, again, there's some discussion of this as it relates specifically to social media in the *Morgan* case, the Kentucky case involving Governor Bevin in that state.

But to address *Blum* more directly, as I understand Blum, the state can't be held liable for a public -- or excuse me -- from a private actor's decision unless there is some significant coercion by the government or some coercive power that the government holds over the private actor.

And in this case, Your Honor, all plaintiff points to is political climate; that there is a lot of pressure on social media networks like Twitter, like Facebook, to act a certain way.

I believe the court will, after the presentation, ask of Ms. O'Malley and Ms. Tassinari what happened here. And I believe that you will hear them say, as they do in their affidavits, that Ms. O'Malley completed an online form and received a form email back from Twitter saying they would investigate the matter. And as plaintiff's subsequent suspensions from Twitter make clear, other Twitter users can do this, too. It's not just the Secretary. Any user of Twitter can lodge a complaint.

THE COURT: But at that point, that strikes me at the moment as speculative. You know, if we get to discovery,

you'll be able to find out if other people complained. 1 2 MR. HORNSTINE: Maybe or maybe not. I don't know that 3 we will, but I guess it's conceivable we can ask Twitter. THE COURT: But right now there's no evidence that 4 5 anybody else complained. 6 MR. HORNSTINE: Correct. 7 THE COURT: And I have to draw reasonable inferences 8 from facts. The Secretary complained. I'm told the suspension immediately followed. And the plaintiff keeps getting 11:40 10 suspended again each time he refers to the emails with 11 Ms. Tassinari that triggered the first suspension. 12 MR. HORNSTINE: To be clear, I think we may be talking about different things, plaintiffs and my clients or my 13 14 clients' witnesses here. They lodged a complaint about a single tweet, not certain emails that were threaded. 15 THE COURT: And I want to -- explain that to me, and 16 then I think I will have some questions. 17 MR. HORNSTINE: I will do my level best to do so. 18 19 understanding -- and again, please do follow up with the clients' witnesses here -- is, again, they submitted a 11:41 20 21 complaint with Twitter, received a form email back saying 22 Twitter would investigate. That was the only communication 23 that the Secretary's Office had with Twitter. 24 THE COURT: Did the complaint identify that it was 25 coming from the Secretary's Office?

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MR. HORNSTINE: A good question for Ms. O'Malley. my understanding is that the complaint was submitted through the Mass. Elections Twitter account. That is a worthwhile follow-up. Don't take my word for it. You can address it with Ms. O'Malley. And at that point there was no expectation or further expectation that anything necessarily would be done by Twitter. THE COURT: Here. Why don't we do this. Because I think you're being helpfully careful. Why don't we ask Ms. O'Malley -- why don't I ask Ms. O'Malley these questions, and then you can ask some questions. MR. HORNSTINE: It may be valuable, if you wish to start with Ms. O'Malley, that may be useful, but inasmuch as Ms. O'Malley was taking instructions from Ms. Tassinari, it may be chronologically helpful to start with her, but proceed however the court wishes, obviously. THE COURT: Why don't we do it this way. I'll let you question them in the order you prefer. MR. HORNSTINE: If that is the case, I will defer to my colleague, Ms. Sterman, to do the questioning. THE COURT: All right. Doctor, do you understand that I'm going to hear this evidence? I have some questions, but you'll get a chance to ask guestions, too. Okay? All right. Ms. Sterman, who would you like to call first?

```
1
                  MS. STERMAN: Thank you, Your Honor. We'll start with
         Ms. Tassinari, if that's agreeable to the court.
     2
     3
                   THE COURT: Ms. Tassinari, do you swear that the
         testimony you're about to give will be the truth, the whole
     4
     5
         truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?
     6
                  MS. TASSINARI: Yes.
     7
                   THE COURT: Okay. Try to keep this focused and
     8
         efficient, please.
     9
                        EXAMINATION OF MICHELLE TASSINARI
         EXAMINATION BY MS. STERMAN:
11:43 10
    11
              Ms. Tassinari, where do you work?
    12
              Secretary of State's Elections Division.
         Α.
    13
              What's your position there?
         Q.
    14
              I'm the director and legal counsel.
    15
              And can you just briefly describe to us what your
         responsibilities are in those capacities.
    16
               In the Elections Division we oversee the administration of
    17
         state and federal elections, including the nomination papers,
    18
```

11:44 20 Q. Are you familiar with the plaintiff in this case?

ballot printing, ballot access.

21 A. I am.

- 22 Q. How so?
- 23 A. He has been a candidate for office in the past and was a
- 24 candidate for U.S. Senate in the republican primary -- for the
- 25 | September 1 primary.

- Q. Following that September 1 primary, did you receive any correspondence from him?
- 3 A. I did, yes.
- 4 Q. What was the nature of that correspondence?
- 5 A. He submitted a public records request to our office.
- 6 Q. And what was he looking for in that public records
- 7 request?
- 8 A. The public records request was seeking electronic
- 9 documents relative to voting equipment used in Massachusetts.
- 11:44 10 Q. Did you respond to that request?
 - 11 A. I did.
 - 12 | Q. At some point after this correspondence with the plaintiff
 - 13 regarding his public records request, did you become aware of
 - 14 social media posts that he was making regarding the exchange?
 - 15 A. I did.
 - 16 Q. How so?
 - 17 A. We had one of our local election officials who had
 - 18 forwarded us an email they received from a voter in their town
 - 19 that indicated that Shiva was claiming election fraud, which
- 11:45 20 | prompted us to look at -- to simply Google and look for any
 - 21 materials regarding this.
 - 22 Q. Was that the only contact you received regarding his
 - 23 social media post?
 - 24 A. No. We had received I believe at least one or two emails
 - 25 | into our Elections Division email inquiries as well as some

- 1 telephone calls.
- 2 Q. And did you -- were you able to locate that tweet?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. And can you describe the content of the tweet.
- 5 A. The tweet had indicated that over a million ballots had
- 6 been destroyed in violation of federal law.
- 7 Q. Was that an accurate statement in your view?
- 8 A. No.
- $9 \quad Q. \quad \text{Why not?}$
- 11:46 10 A. Because every single paper ballot that was cast in the
 - 11 | September state primary is being -- it has been secured and
 - 12 sealed and will remain preserved for 22 months, which is what
 - 13 the federal law requires.
 - 14 Q. And I don't know if you have your affidavit handy,
 - 15 Ms. Tassinari.
 - THE COURT: Well, she hasn't shown she needs her
 - 17 | recollection refreshed on anything. What's the question?
 - MS. STERMAN: I was merely going to confirm that the
 - 19 tweet pictured under Paragraph 8 is the same tweet we're
- 11:46 20 | talking about, just to make sure we're all on the same page.
 - 21 THE COURT: Thank you. That's fine.
 - 22 Q. I'm sorry. Ms. Tassinari, that is the tweet you're
 - 23 referring to?
 - 24 A. Yes.
 - 25 THE COURT: Is this the one, it's in paragraph 8 of

- 1 docket number 15.2, Ms. Tassinari's affidavit, correct?
- 2 MS. STERMAN: That's right, Your Honor.
- THE WITNESS: Yes.
- 4 BY MS. STERMAN:
- 5 Q. Did you take any action in response to that tweet after
- 6 you viewed it?
- 7 A. Yes. I asked Deb O'Malley to use our Twitter platform to
- 8 report that.
- 9 Q. Where did you do that?
- 11:47 10 A. I thought it was inaccurate and was providing false
 - 11 information about the election which may lead voters to either
 - 12 question the election process or perhaps not even participate
 - in the upcoming election.
 - 14 Q. Did you instruct Ms. O'Malley to report any other tweets
 - aside from the one pictured in paragraph 8 to your affidavit to
 - 16 Twitter?
 - 17 A. No.
 - 18 O. Did you hear a little earlier this morning the plaintiff
 - 19 referred to a thread of four tweets that screenshoted his email
- 11:48 20 | exchange with you? Did you hear that testimony?
 - 21 A. I did.
 - 22 Q. Have you ever seen those tweets?
 - 23 A. I believe I did see those.
 - 24 Q. Did you report those tweets to Twitter?
 - 25 A. No.

1 Did you ask Ms. O'Malley to report those tweets to 2 Twitter? 3 Α. No. Did you do anything else to cause that series of four 4 Ο. 5 tweets to be reported to Twitter? 6 Α. No. 7 Aside from the single tweet that you requested Ms. O'Malley report to Twitter, have you or your office, to your knowledge, had any other interaction with Twitter about 11:48 10 the plaintiff or any of his tweets? 11 Α. No. 12 Have you asked your staff to report any other tweets by 13 the plaintiff? 14 Α. No. 15 MS. STERMAN: Your Honor, I think that sets forth the basic groundwork, unless you have additional questions that 16 you're wanting from Ms. Tassinari. 17 18 THE COURT: I do. 19 Ms. Tassinari, is Dr. Shiva the only person the Secretary of State's Office has reported to Twitter about? 11:49 20 21 THE WITNESS: No. 22 THE COURT: About how many others? 23 THE WITNESS: I can only recall one previous, one 24 previous time in which a tweet was reported which had incorrect

deadlines.

1 THE COURT: And what happened as a result of that, if 2 anything? 3 THE WITNESS: I believe that Twitter also removed the incorrect information from that tweet. 4 5 THE COURT: And I think you said -- well, have you 6 ever communicated with Twitter about its policy with regard to 7 tweets that relate to elections? THE WITNESS: No. 9 THE COURT: Have you ever -- have you read anything 11:50 10 about their policies and practices with regard to what they do 11 with regard to such tweets if there's a report? 12 THE WITNESS: I believe I have been presented with --13 I have seen an email from Twitter in the past or from an 14 organization providing us information about Twitter's policy 15 use and how to report misinformation generally as an election office. 16 THE COURT: Did you get that from Twitter, or did you 17 get that from some other organization? 18 19 THE WITNESS: I believe it came through the National Association of Secretaries of State, disbursed it for Twitter. 11:51 20 21 THE COURT: I'm sorry, it came from the National 22 Association of Secretaries of State -- and I didn't hear the 23 end of your answer. 24 THE WITNESS: Disbursed by them for Twitter. 25 THE COURT: Okay. And what did it say?

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1
                  THE WITNESS: It provided a platform if you believe
         there was misinformation, disinformation regarding elections
     2
         and how to report that to Twitter.
                  THE COURT: Did it say what Twitter's practice or
     4
     5
         policy would be if it received such reports from a Secretary of
         State?
     7
                  THE WITNESS: I do not recall that.
     8
                  THE COURT: Have you spoken to colleagues in other
     9
         Secretary of States' offices or government offices about
11:52 10
         whether they've made reports to Twitter?
    11
                  THE WITNESS: I have not.
    12
                  THE COURT: I think you said that you asked
         Ms. O'Malley to make the report on the Election Division's
    13
    14
         Twitter account; is that correct?
    15
                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
                  THE COURT: And would that have identified the report
    16
         as coming from the Secretary of State's Election Division?
    17
    18
                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
    19
                  THE COURT: I know I'm repeating this, but you say you
         believe that your office has only reported on one other tweet
11:53 20
    21
         to Twitter because it had incorrect dates concerning an
         election.
    22
    23
                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
    24
                  THE COURT: And it's your understanding that Twitter
    25
         removed that?
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1 THE WITNESS: Yes. THE COURT: Are you aware that before -- he just 2 3 testified to this, and I think you said you saw the string. But what caused you to request or report or cause a report to 4 5 be made with regard to the tweet that's in paragraph 8 of your affidavit but not any of the other of Dr. Shiva's tweets? 7 THE WITNESS: We had made the report of the original 8 tweet. I don't believe we had seen the other tweets at that time. And the original tweet was certainly alarming and 11:54 10 casting doubt on the election process and the integrity of the 11 process in Massachusetts. 12 THE COURT: Is there a reason that you didn't -- so the Election Division has a Twitter account, right? 13 14 THE WITNESS: Correct. 15 THE COURT: And did you tweet out that Dr. Shiva's wrong; the Secretary of State is in compliance with federal 16 law; we maintain all the paper ballots for 22 months as it 17 18 requires? 19 THE WITNESS: We did not tweet that, no. 11:55 20 THE COURT: Why not? 21 THE WITNESS: I don't know. Hadn't occurred to us. 22 We did respond to multiple emails and telephone inquiries about 23 it. 24 THE COURT: Dr. Shiva, do my questions suggest any 25 further questions to you?

1 MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, Your Honor. I have at least one or two questions, if I may, please. 2 3 THE COURT: Go ahead. MR. AYYADURAI: It's a question to Ms. Tassinari. 4 5 EXAMINATION BY MR. AYYADURAI: Ms. Tassinari, is the Mass. Elections Twitter account a 7 verified account or a not verified account? Α. Verified account. THE COURT: What is a verified account? 11:56 10 MR. AYYADURAI: Your Honor, there are two types of 11 Twitter accounts. Those that are sort of people who could be 12 anyone, sort of your average public citizen or average public, 13 and there are verified accounts, which you have to go through a 14 due diligence process with Twitter, and you get a little blue 15 checkmark next to your Twitter account. That means, it essentially adds more gravitas to who you are and that Twitter 16 has actually acknowledged that you are who you say you are. I 17 believe when I did it, for example, I --18 19 THE COURT: That's okay. That's enough. What's your 11:56 20 next question? 21 BY MR. AYYADURAI: 22 The next question is, the other individual that reported an issue with election, quote-unquote, "misinformation," was 23 24 that person a candidate running for office? 25 I don't recall. I believe it was an organization.

```
1
              Okay. And I just want to clarify. So in response to my
         email, there was no tweets I could see that your office did, is
     2
         that true, to refute what I was saying?
     3
              I did not -- I do not do any of the tweets, so I do not
     4
     5
         know.
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Thank you.
     7
                  THE COURT: To your knowledge, there were none,
     8
         though; is that right?
     9
                  THE WITNESS: I don't believe so.
11:57 10
                  THE COURT: Who does the tweets?
    11
                  THE WITNESS: Ms. O'Malley.
    12
                  THE COURT: So I think she's the next witness. Hold
    13
         on a second. Let me just check and see if I have any other
    14
         questions. I don't think so.
    15
                  Ms. O'Malley, do you swear that the testimony you're
         about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing
    16
         but the truth so help you God?
    17
    18
                  MS. O'MALLEY: I do.
    19
                  EXAMINATION OF DEBRA O'MALLEY
11:58 20
                  THE COURT: Ms. Sterman, go ahead.
    21
                  MS. STERMAN: Thank you, Your Honor.
    22
         EXAMINATION BY MS. STERMAN:
             Ms. O'Malley, why don't we pick up where Ms. Tassinari
    23
    24
         left off. Did you hear her testimony that she asked you to
    25
         report a September 24 tweet by the plaintiff in this case to
```

- 1 Twitter?
- 2 A. Yes, I did.
- Q. And did she in fact ask you to report that tweet?
- 4 A. Yes, she did.
- 5 Q. And what action did you take to report the tweet?
- A. I logged into the Elections Division Twitter account and accessed the web form and reported the tweet to Twitter.
- 7 accessed the web form and reported the tweet to Twitter.
- 9 those of us who haven't seen that web form and don't know what

And when you say you reported the tweet to Twitter, for

- 11:59 10 it looks like, could you describe for us what sort of
 - 11 information you had to enter in order to effectuate that
 - 12 report?

Q.

- 13 A. I had to provide my name, email address and a brief
- 14 description of the reason that I was reporting it and a link to
- 15 the tweet itself.
- 16 Q. And what brief description did you provide in this report?
- 17 A. To the best of my recollection, I explained that the
- 18 statements regarding the destruction of ballots were false and
- 19 that the statements attributed to the Massachusetts election
- 11:59 20 attorney were a misrepresentation of what Attorney Tassinari
 - 21 had said.
 - 22 Q. And then you mentioned you -- I think you said that you
 - 23 provided a link to the tweet that you were reporting; is that
 - 24 right?
 - 25 A. Yes.

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1
              In your affidavit, paragraph 3, there is a screenshot of
         the tweet. Can you confirm whether or not that is the tweet
     2
         that you linked to in your report to Twitter?
              Yes, it is.
     4
         Α.
     5
                  MS. STERMAN: I'm sorry, Your Honor.
     6
                  THE COURT: You said you used the Department of
     7
         Election's Twitter account; is that right?
     8
                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
     9
                  THE COURT: I may not be using the right term.
12:00 10
         does somebody know -- would somebody know that the
    11
         communication came from the Secretary of State's Division of
    12
         Elections by reading the tweet -- by reading the -- yes,
         something that came from that account?
    13
    14
                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
                  THE COURT: How would one know that?
    15
                  THE WITNESS: Well, it identifies it as from the
    16
         Massachusetts Elections Division, and we have also been
    17
    18
         on-boarded by Twitter to be considered a Twitter partner for
    19
         reporting this type of information.
12:01 20
                  THE COURT: What's a Twitter partner?
    21
                  THE WITNESS: It's -- Twitter has our contact
    22
         information and is aware of our accounts as an election office,
         so that if we report anything through that portal, then they
    23
    24
         will take a look at it quickly.
    25
                  THE COURT: So is it a special portal, as you
```

1 understand it, for election offices? THE WITNESS: No. It's the same portal that everyone 2 3 else uses. They are just aware of which accounts are election official accounts. 5 THE COURT: I see. And did you say -- when it comes from one of these -- when Twitter sees it comes from an 7 election official, you understand they act on it quickly? 8 THE WITNESS: That is my understanding of what they have said they will do. 12:02 10 THE COURT: And what's that understanding based on? THE WITNESS: Communications from the National 11 12 Association of Secretaries of State. 13 THE COURT: And did you learn that in some written 14 communication from the National Association or some oral discussion or both? 15 THE WITNESS: I believe it was by email. 16 THE COURT: Do you remember what the email said? 17 18 THE WITNESS: Well, it provided a presentation 19 regarding how to report the information, how to log in and how 12:03 20 to send the reports. 21 THE COURT: But you said that something caused you to 22 understand that if the Election Division in some way that identified it made a report, you understood Twitter would act 23 on it quickly. 24 25 THE WITNESS: Yes. I believe at some point in the

```
1
         emails it explained the point of this was so that Twitter could
         act quickly on election matters.
     2
     3
                  THE COURT: On election matters from election
         divisions like yours?
     4
     5
                  THE WITNESS: Election officials, yes.
     6
                  THE COURT: And actually -- and this may also be for
     7
         Ms. Tassinari again. Did you talk to Ms. Tassinari about why
         she wanted you to send the report?
     9
                  THE WITNESS: I don't recall the entire conversation,
12:04 10
         but I believe she had asked me to send it because it was
    11
         obviously false.
    12
                  THE COURT: And did you have any discussion about what
         Ms. Tassinari or you hoped Twitter would do upon receiving the
    13
    14
         report?
    15
                  THE WITNESS: No, we didn't.
                  THE COURT: What did you hope Twitter would do upon
    16
    17
         receiving the report?
    18
                  THE WITNESS: I was hoping that they would remove the
    19
         single tweet that had misinformation.
                  THE COURT: And did you expect they would do that?
12:05 20
    21
                  THE WITNESS: I wasn't sure.
    22
                  THE COURT: Did you send that earlier report that
         Ms. Tassinari referred to?
    23
    24
                  THE WITNESS: Yes, I did.
    25
                  THE COURT: And did you know that Twitter removed that
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1
         tweet?
                  THE WITNESS: Yes, they informed me later.
     2
                   THE COURT: And did you expect that Twitter would
     3
         remove this tweet, too?
     4
     5
                   THE WITNESS: I honestly wasn't sure.
     6
                   THE COURT: Why were you unsure?
     7
                   THE WITNESS: Because Twitter was going to have to
         review it and make their own judgment, and I wasn't sure if
     8
         they would choose to remove it based on their judgment.
12:06 10
                   THE COURT: Is it your understanding that they remove
    11
         false information, clearly false information from -- they
    12
         remove tweets that contain information that is factually false,
         demonstrably false, concerning elections if they receive
    13
    14
         reports from election officials?
    15
                   THE WITNESS: I only have the experience of the one
         other report, so I really wasn't sure.
    16
                   THE COURT: Okay. I may go back and ask Ms. Tassinari
    17
    18
         that same line of questions, but Dr. Shiva -- do you
    19
         remember -- what did you type -- you typed the report?
12:07 20
                   THE WITNESS: Yes.
    21
                   THE COURT: And what words did you type?
    22
                   THE WITNESS: I don't remember my exact words, but I
    23
         do remember that I explained that it was false; that we had not
    24
         destroyed ballots and that the statements he was attributing to
    25
         Michelle Tassinari were also false.
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1 THE COURT: What statement was that? THE WITNESS: I believe the tweet said that a 2 3 Massachusetts election attorney confirms that the ballots are nowhere to be found. 4 5 THE COURT: Did you say anything to Ms. Tassinari to 6 the effect of, Why don't we issue our own tweet saying that no 7 ballots had been destroyed and we are in compliance with federal law; we're keeping the paper ballots for 22 months? 9 THE WITNESS: No, I didn't. 12:08 10 THE COURT: Why not? 11 THE WITNESS: Because I don't want to amplify election misinformation. 12 13 THE COURT: Okay. Dr. Shiva, do you have any 14 questions for Ms. O'Malley? 15 MS. STERMAN: I'm sorry to interrupt, but I do have additional follow-up. 16 THE COURT: I'm sorry, I didn't remember that I had 17 18 interrupted you. You want to follow up on mine. Go ahead, go 19 ahead. BY MS. STERMAN: 12:09 20 21 Ms. O'Malley, once you submitted the report that we've just talked about, did you receive any response from Twitter? 22 23 I received an automated response that they would review 24 it, yes. 25 Did you ever receive any further response or communication

- 1 from Twitter concerning this report?
- 2 A. No.
- Q. As you sit here today, do you know what action, if any,
- Twitter took as the result of your particular report of the
- 5 plaintiff's tweet?
- 6 A. No.
- 7 Q. And you mentioned a few moments ago in response to a
- 8 question from the judge that the Elections Division is a
- 9 Twitter partner; is that correct?
- 12:10 10 A. Yes, yes.
 - 11 Q. And when you say that, what does that mean?
 - 12 A. My understanding is that we are able to select certain
 - 13 reasons for reporting a tweet that may not be available to
 - 14 everyone and that they will -- that the people who review the
 - 15 tweets at Twitter, when complaints are made, will try to act
 - 16 | quickly on the ones we report.
 - 17 Q. Does being a Twitter partner afford you or the Elections
 - 18 Division any enhanced access to communications with Twitter
 - 19 about reports that you make?
- 12:10 20 A. No.
 - 21 Q. Does being a Twitter partner afford you any control or
 - 22 | input into action that they take based on your reports?
 - 23 A. No.
 - 24 Q. Aside from the September 24 tweet that you've testified
 - 25 that you reported, have you reported any other of plaintiff's

```
1
         tweets?
     2
         Α.
              No.
              Have you -- I'm sorry. Have you reported -- well, let me
     3
         Q.
         back up. A little bit ago the plaintiff talked about I think a
     4
     5
         thread of four tweets that he sent that had displayed somehow
         emails between himself and Ms. Tassinari. Did you hear that?
     7
         Α.
              Yes.
     8
              Did you report any tweets meeting that description?
         Q.
         Α.
              No.
12:11 10
                  MS. STERMAN: Thank you.
                  THE COURT: Let me clarify something. You were
    11
    12
         asked -- you testified that you didn't know what Twitter did
         "as a result of my tweet." Is that what you said?
    13
    14
                  THE WITNESS: Correct.
    15
                  THE COURT: Did you know that Twitter removed Dr.
         Shiva's tweet, the one you complained about?
    16
                  THE WITNESS: I know that they eventually did.
    17
                  THE COURT: When did you learn they removed it?
    18
    19
                  THE WITNESS: I think a few days later.
12:12 20
                  THE COURT: How did you learn it?
    21
                  THE WITNESS: I believe Michelle Tassinari may have
    22
         told me.
    23
                  THE COURT: And do you know of anybody else who
    24
         complained about Dr. Shiva's tweet, anybody else who reported
    25
         it?
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1
                  THE WITNESS: That specific tweet, I don't know.
                  THE COURT: Well, do you know of anybody who reported
     2
         any other of Dr. Shiva's tweets?
     3
                  THE WITNESS: I believe someone from the National
     4
     5
         Association of State Elections Directors may have reported some
         other tweets.
     7
                  THE COURT: Why do you think that?
                  THE WITNESS: We were in communication with the
     8
         National Association of State Elections Directors because they
12:13 10
         assist us in figuring out how to report these tweets.
    11
                  THE COURT: So Ms. Tassinari asked you to report Dr.
    12
         Shiva's one tweet; is that right?
    13
                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
    14
                  THE COURT: And did you communicate with anybody else
         before you made the report?
    15
                  THE WITNESS: I don't think I did before I made the
    16
    17
         report, no.
    18
                  THE COURT: Did you communicate with anybody else
    19
         after you made the report?
12:13 20
                  THE WITNESS: I'm not certain if I did, but I believe
    21
         we alerted NASS and NASED, the National Association of
         Secretaries of State and the National Association of State
    22
    23
         Election Directors.
    24
                  THE COURT: Did you do that; did Ms. Tassinari do
    25
         that?
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THE WITNESS: I don't believe I did.
     1
                  THE COURT: And what was the communication to the
     2
         National Association, as you understand it?
     3
                  THE WITNESS: I believe, to the best of my
     4
     5
         recollection, I believe Michelle emailed, Michelle Tassinari
         emailed the executive director of the National Association of
     7
         State Election Directors to let them know that we had reported
         it because they are our liaison.
     9
                  THE COURT: And you said you believe they may have
         reported other tweets of Dr. Shiva. Why do you say that?
12:15 10
                  THE WITNESS: I believe it's possible they -- I don't
    11
    12
         recall entirely, but they may have told -- Michelle Tassinari
         may have told me. I'm not certain.
    13
    14
                  THE COURT: So Ms. Sterman, let me pick this up with
         Ms. Tassinari. Can you go off mute, please, Ms. Tassinari.
    15
                  Did you communicate with anybody other than
    16
         Ms. O'Malley about Dr. Shiva's tweet?
    17
    18
                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
    19
                  THE COURT: With whom?
12:15 20
                  THE WITNESS: I communicated with Amy Cohen, the
    21
         Executive Director of the National Association of State
    22
         Election Directors.
    23
                  THE COURT: And did you communicate with her once or
         more than once about Dr. Shiva?
    24
    25
                  THE WITNESS: I communicated to her that we were
```

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1
         reporting that tweet.
     2
                  THE COURT: Did you do that in writing, orally or
     3
         both?
                  THE WITNESS: In writing.
     4
     5
                  THE COURT: Once or more than once?
     6
                  THE WITNESS: Once.
     7
                  THE COURT: And what did the writing say?
     8
                  THE WITNESS: We are reporting this to Twitter as
         election misinformation, with the link to the tweet.
12:16 10
                  THE DEFENDANT: And did you receive a response from
    11
         her?
    12
                  THE WITNESS: I don't believe so. I did. I
    13
         apologize.
    14
                  THE COURT: And are you looking at your emails, which
         is permissible?
    15
    16
                  THE WITNESS: I am looking at my email. She replied
         to me later, at 7:22 p.m., to acknowledge that the tweet was
    17
         still up and said, "Have you reported it? I can report it,
    18
    19
         too."
12:17 20
                  THE COURT: And did you respond to that?
    21
                  THE WITNESS: I said Deb had reported it.
    22
                  THE COURT: That's all?
    23
                  THE WITNESS: Deb had reported it. I never got to
         sending an email, too.
    24
    25
                  THE COURT: I'm sorry, I couldn't hear the second part
```

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1
         of that.
                  THE WITNESS: I never got to send a separate email to
     2
         Twitter, just that we had reported it. Because sometimes you
     3
         can email it to them, a report as well. We did not do that.
     4
     5
         We only used the Twitter platform.
                  THE COURT: And did Ms. Cohen communicate with you
     7
         further about this, or did you communicate with her?
     8
                  THE WITNESS: I believe orally we had a conversation,
         and she said she had reported it as well.
12:18 10
                  THE COURT: And what did you say in response to that?
                  THE WITNESS: Okay.
    11
    12
                  THE COURT: You just said okay?
                  THE WITNESS: I acknowledged that -- I probably said
    13
    14
         thank you.
                  THE COURT: I see. Well, when you asked Ms. O'Malley
    15
         to file a report with Twitter, what did you hope would happen
    16
         as a result of that?
    17
    18
                  THE WITNESS: That either the tweet would be removed
    19
         or labeled as inaccurate.
12:18 20
                  THE COURT: Excuse me if I asked you this before.
         the tweet that -- well, did you ever confirm -- just a second.
    21
    22
                  The tweet that was reported says, "Mass. Election
    23
         attorney confirms to Shiva4senate ballot images used for
    24
         counting votes must be saved by federal law for 22 months are
    25
         nowhere to be found!" Did you ever say that to Dr. Shiva?
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1 THE WITNESS: That would imply that I acknowledged that they have to be kept for 22 months or that they ever 2 existed, and the answer to that is no. THE COURT: All right. And was it disturbing to you 4 5 that he attributed statements to you that you hadn't made? THE WITNESS: Yes. 7 THE COURT: Why is that? 8 THE WITNESS: I take my job as an election administrator and an attorney very seriously, and for someone 12:20 10 to suggest that we knowingly violated a federal law relating to 11 elections is not something I take lightly. 12 THE COURT: And is that why you reported this particular tweet and not other related tweets? 13 14 THE WITNESS: We had only reported this tweet. At the time it was the only one we were aware of. 15 THE COURT: And when you communicated with Ms. Cohen, 16 the Executive Director of the National Association, was it your 17 18 hope that the National Association also would report the 19 matter? THE WITNESS: Yes. She is -- the National Association 12:21 20 21 of State Election Directors is also a Twitter partner, and they 22 often coordinate communications between the social media 23 companies and state election directors generally. 24 THE COURT: And was it your hope that a report from 25 the National Association as well as from your office would

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increase the likelihood that Twitter would either delete the
     1
         tweet or label it inaccurate?
     2
     3
                  THE WITNESS: I think the goal was generally to ensure
         that misinformation wasn't being spread, and so whatever
     4
     5
         actions that we could take to make sure that the tweet was
         labeled as inaccurate or taken down, we were willing to pursue.
     7
                  THE COURT: But did you think -- you had filed a
     8
         report. Did you want to do everything possible to try to
         assure that Twitter would take it seriously and either remove
         the tweet or label it inaccurate?
12:22 10
    11
                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
    12
                  THE COURT: And were you pleased when they deleted the
    13
         tweet?
    14
                  THE WITNESS: I believe I saw that it had been
    15
         removed. I was, yes, I was relieved.
                  THE COURT: Relieved. How did you learn it had been
    16
    17
         removed?
    18
                  THE WITNESS: I believe the following, later in that
    19
         weekend I looked and it had been removed.
12:23 20
                  THE COURT: And why were you relieved?
    21
                  THE WITNESS: Because the spread of misinformation and
    22
         disinformation relating to the election is a very big concern
         for myself as well as everyone in this office.
    23
    24
                  THE COURT: And were you relieved because something
    25
         disparaging for you was no longer on Twitter?
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1
                  THE WITNESS: It didn't mention me by name, so no one
         would have known it was me personally, so that part is not --
     2
         that was not my goal. It was actually because of the
     3
         misinformation about ballots being destroyed and the integrity
     5
         on the election process.
                  THE COURT: Dr. Shiva, do you have some questions for
     7
         Ms. O'Malley or as a follow-up to those that I just asked of
         Ms. Tassinari?
     9
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Yes. Should I -- Your Honor, to not
12:24 10
         violate process, should I ask Ms. O'Malley first and then
    11
         Ms. Tassinari?
    12
                  THE COURT: Which way would you prefer?
    13
                  MR. AYYADURAI: I'd like to ask Ms. O'Malley and then
    14
         Ms. Tassinari.
    15
                  THE COURT: Okay.
         EXAMINATION BY MR. AYYADURAI:
    16
              Ms. O'Malley, one of the questions I have is, can you ask
    17
         why you mention Ms. Tassinari's emails in your complaint but
    18
    19
         you claimed it was all about that first tweet, that one tweet
12:24 20
         only?
    21
              I'm sorry, I don't understand your question.
    22
              Well, you stated to the court that it was about that one
    23
         tweet, but in the complaint you've actually mentioned
         Ms. Michelle Tassinari's emails, the four email interactions.
    24
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I'm sorry, I still don't know what the question is.

25

Α.

1 You just shared with the court that it was all about that one tweet concerning the ballot images being destroyed. 2 However, in your complaint you refer to Ms. Tassinari's emails, 3 the email interactions that I had with Ms. Tassinari, the 4 5 tweets I put up about those. 6 THE COURT: Maybe I can help. In what complaint? 7 MR. AYYADURAI: In her affidavit. THE COURT: In her affidavit. 8 MR. AYYADURAI: In her affidavit. 9 12:25 10 THE COURT: Do you understand the question? THE WITNESS: I'm not certain what the question is. 11 12 BY MR. AYYADURAI: In the complaint to Twitter, the form that you filled out, 13 14 in the form that you filled out, you said that you only were 15 speaking about that one tweet; is that right? 16 Α. Yes. However, in your -- but you also mentioned Ms. Tassinari's 17 18 emails, is that not right? 19 Α. In what? 12:26 20 Ο. In your affidavit. 21 THE COURT: Here, you're going to have to do this --22 Are you familiar with Ms. Tassinari's emails, the email interaction she and I had? 23 24 Α. Yes.

Are you familiar with the fact that I shared those emails

25

Q.

- 1 on Twitter?
- 2 A. I believe I learned about it later.
- 3 Q. But you handled Twitter for the Secretary of State, right,
- 4 for the elections; you're the Twitter person, right?
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. So, given this issue, were you not watching what I was
- 7 posting on Twitter?
- 8 A. No, I was not.
- 9 Q. Okay. But you are aware of those tweets that I posted of
- 12:27 10 my email interactions, sharing the email interactions I had
 - 11 with Ms. Tassinari?
 - 12 A. I believe so.
 - 13 Q. Okay. So you are aware of the tweets that I posted
 - 14 | sharing me and Ms. Tassinari's email conversation; you are
 - 15 aware of those tweets?
 - MS. STERMAN: Objection. I think we've been through
 - 17 this a few times now.
 - 18 THE COURT: Yes.
 - MR. AYYADURAI: All right. I just want to bring up
- 12:27 20 the point of fact, if I can ask Ms. Tassinari, Your Honor?
 - 21 THE COURT: Okay.
 - 22 FURTHER EXAMINATION OF MICHELLE TASSINARI
 - 23 EXAMINATION BY MR. AYYADURAI:
 - 24 Q. Ms. Tassinari, are you aware that the four tweets that I
 - 25 | shared with our email interaction were deleted from Twitter?

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 Q. Okay. You have stated to the court that the main tweet
- 3 that I put up, which was exposing in fact ballot images were
- 4 destroyed, was deleted. Are you aware that that tweet was
- 5 | never deleted; it's still up?
- 6 A. I do not know what action Twitter took. I thought it had
- 7 -- I know tweets had been removed. I don't follow every single
- 8 one of your tweets.
- 9 Q. But did you not just assert to the court that this tweet
- 12:28 10 was removed?
 - 11 A. I thought it had been.
 - 12 Q. Okay. But you do know that the four tweets that I shared
 - 13 with you and I interacting about the ballot images were
 - 14 removed; is that right?
 - 15 A. Yes.
 - MR. AYYADURAI: Okay.
 - 17 THE COURT: Let me ask this. Was the tweet that's
 - copied in the affidavits, paragraph 3 of Ms. O'Malley, was that
 - 19 one removed?
- 12:29 20 MR. AYYADURAI: No, it wasn't, Your Honor. I'm sorry.
 - 21 That question was to me?
 - 22 THE COURT: Well, Ms. Tassinari, what's your
 - 23 understanding? This is the one that's in paragraph 8 of your
 - 24 affidavit. That's the one that you asked Ms. O'Malley to
 - 25 report on?

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                  THE WITNESS: Yes.
                  THE COURT: And when you checked on that Sunday, was
     2
         that one removed, as you understand it?
     3
                  THE WITNESS: I thought it was, but when I just
     4
     5
         clicked on the link to it, it is certainly still up.
                  THE COURT: All right. So Dr. Shiva, now I'm asking
     7
         you for testimony.
     8
                  Are you saying that there were four others that were
     9
         removed?
12:29 10
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, Your Honor. So after that tweet,
    11
         I put up four tweets, which were the email interactions
    12
         substantiating my position that Michelle Tassinari's office or
         the Secretary of State's Office was violating federal law,
    13
    14
         which was the email interaction between myself and Michelle
         Tassinari, which was the screenshots. Those were the ones that
    15
         were removed because those emails exposed Secretary of State
    16
         Galvin as violating federal law.
    17
                  THE COURT: Do I have those in evidence before me?
    18
    19
                  MR. AYYADURAI: I don't -- I don't have the tweets,
12:30 20
         but I explained them in the verified complaint.
    21
                   THE COURT: All right. I'll have to ponder the
    22
         implications of that. Okay. Are there any more questions for
    23
         these two witnesses?
    24
                  All right. Now, Mr. Hornstine -- no, there are not.
    25
         It's now 12:30, but I'd like to get through this argument if we
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can. And the stenographer should tell me if she would like a break. She's okay. She runs marathons.

MR. HORNSTINE: Unless she was pointing her thumb up to say she did need a break.

THE COURT: No, she wasn't.

12:32 20

12:31 10

MR. HORNSTINE: Okay. Very good, Your Honor. We'll keep going.

THE COURT: Okay. So that testimony is relevant to what I'll call the *Blum* issue. But why don't you resume your argument, please.

MR. HORNSTINE: Why don't we jump right in with the Blum issue then. I know that plaintiff here contends that the gravitas of the Secretary's Office caused Twitter to act here, but what this testimony we've just revealed is it's quite the opposite.

The Secretary's Office complained about a single tweet. Twitter forced plaintiff to delete four other tweets that the Secretary's Office did not complain about. So it certainly undercuts the argument that the Secretary's voice was so coercive or so significant to Twitter that Twitter acted at its behest in deleting the four tweets that are not in the record but that plaintiff characterizes in his complaint.

This certainly buttresses the Secretary's position that this isn't an instance where it can be held to account for the private decision of a private actor operating under its own

12:34 20

12:33 10

terms of use, under its own civic policies. And where, as here, it is crystal clear that the Secretary didn't complain about the four tweets that were deleted and that apparently resulted in his suspension, *Blum* might not even be the actual inquiry. It may be just a simple matter of causation here, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Well, again, I have to draw reasonable inferences. I now know that not only did Secretary Galvin's office report this complaint about it, but it was through an account that they and their colleagues around the country had been assured would get priority attention and that the executive director of the national organization, as Secretary Galvin hoped, also filed a report, and the hope was that the tweet would be deleted.

MR. HORNSTINE: Which it wasn't.

THE COURT: Four others were, and there's no evidence that there's any other reason the others were deleted. Dr. Shiva was apparently put on Twitter's radar screen, and they removed four of his tweets. This --

MR. HORNSTINE: Which again is -- go ahead.

THE COURT: No, go ahead.

MR. HORNSTINE: I was just going to say, which is
Twitter's prerogative to do under its terms of service, which
makes clear that any discipline Twitter metes out is Twitter's
decision and Twitter's alone to make.

12:35 20

12:35 10

THE COURT: When you say it makes it very clear, my law clerks, I tell them, "Don't ever say 'clearly' this," because it usually obscures this. Twitter can say its Twitter's own decision, but in certain circumstances it constitutes state action. I mean, there are just certain circumstances where it's not treated as a matter of law as Twitter's decision alone. There's a factual element to that.

MR. HORNSTINE: And I appreciate that legal distinction, Your Honor, and I will resist the temptation to use the adjectives "very" and "clear."

But the terms of use again are posted online that every user agrees to, and I think again the Kentucky decision talks about this, the concept that there is no free speech on Twitter; it's whatever Twitter lets you do. Because as a user, you agree as a contractual matter to be bound by certain terms of use, and if you violate those terms of use -- and again, let's keep in mind that any citizen can lodge a complaint, or any Twitter user I should say can lodge a complaint with Twitter and Twitter can investigate it.

Even if the Secretary's Office has some special status that will get its complaint's attention, the fact remains that the tweet the Secretary's Office complained about as election misinformation was not deleted and, again, apparently was not the source of the Twitter suspension here. I don't hear any evidence --

12:36 10

12:37 20

THE COURT: When you talk about the Kentucky decision, is that Morgan v. Bevin?

MR. HORNSTINE: Correct. The decision involving

Governor Bevin. In that case, the case involved an issue in which the governor was muting people on his social media account. So in other words, users could post comments to his Facebook post, to his tweets. I forget which social media platform it was, I apologize. And the governor didn't like certain comments that were being posted on his page, so he blocked people from posting on Twitter, posting on his social media account.

THE COURT: On his page. And this relates to what I wrote about in *Baptiste* and also the *St. Patrick's Day Parade* case. It's compelled speech. I confess I haven't read this yet. But the idea, if it's his page, you know, one can control the messages on your page, but that can be different than deleting it from the Twitter universe.

MR. HORNSTINE: Well, let's be clear here. There's actually a split of authority, if you will. In the Kentucky case, Morgan v. Bevin case, it essentially comes out where Your Honor was headed. But there's a case from the Second Circuit, Knight v. Trump, where the prison was doing the same thing, muting things posted to his page.

There's a Fourth Circuit case, *Davison*, again banning someone from the interactive portions of a government social

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         media page. And in those two latter cases, the Fourth Circuit
         decision and the Second Circuit decision, the courts held that
     2
         political leaders couldn't do that, but both of those decisions
     3
         made clear that any posts that the government made, so the
     4
     5
         Presidents' tweets, the governor's tweets or Facebook posts,
         were indisputably government speech.
     7
                  THE COURT: Hold on just a second. What's the Fourth
     8
         Circuit case?
     9
                  MR. HORNSTINE: It is Davison. I apologize, Your
12:38 10
         Honor. I can pull up --
    11
                  THE COURT: I have it. What I don't have is my law
    12
         clerk.
    13
                  MR. HORNSTINE:
                                  Yes.
    14
                  THE COURT: Anyway.
                  MR. HORNSTINE: And the other case I would call the
    15
         court's attention to is the First Circuit's Sutliffe decision,
    16
         in which the government refused to put certain hyperlinks that
    17
    18
         the government's opponents wanted to appear on a particular
    19
         website.
                  And in all of those cases, what they make clear is
12:39 20
    21
         that the government speech -- and again, I've given or at least
    22
         cases give examples of what constitutes government's speech --
    23
         is not subject to First Amendment regulation. I know the court
    24
         has asked the question --
    25
                  THE COURT: I know that. That's Rosenberger.
                                                                  It was
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implicated in a case you cited of mine, Griswold v. Driscoll.

MR. HORNSTINE: Yes.

12:40 20

12:39 10

THE COURT: But there are certain governments -- when you're in the area involving Blum, in effect speech can become action. And this really goes to it. And we're in a new world. I'm sitting here under a portrait of Louie Brandeis. The seminal views of Holmes and Brandeis were the bedrock principle of the First Amendment, at least used to be. The answer to bad speech is better speech.

And it's striking to me, and I'll have to think -- although I don't have much time to think about it.

Ms. Tassinari said it never occurred to me to just tweet out what Dr. Shiva is saying is false. I mean, if there's state action here, that, in my current conception, would be a narrowly tailored way of advancing the compelling interests.

And there's a whole line of cases. Political speech deserves the most protection. The man is a candidate for public office. And just by saying it's false -- we wouldn't be here if the response had been a tweet that said, you know, whatever the statute is, X U.S. Code, Section Y says you have to keep paper ballots for 22 years. We have them. It's false.

And then people thinking about whether they should vote for Dr. Shiva would say, Wait a minute, he's not a credible person; I don't want to vote for him. But instead of -- the First Amendment, except in limited categories, like

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for defamation, protects false speech as well as speech that describes things accurately. This is basic First Amendment jurisprudence in a new age. Anyway, interesting.

MR. HORNSTINE: I agree that it's very interesting, and I think some of the newer cases -- again, I've given you a few of them, the *Morgan* case, the *Sutliffe* case, the *Davison* case, there's an Eastern District of California case, *Faison* case -- deal with sort of how to address speech in the modern age.

THE COURT: Which of these cases doesn't involve somebody's own web page? I mean, this is what I just wrote in Baptiste. I found that the Commonwealth's regulation requiring landlords to inform tenants of adversary groups that would oppose landlords was probably unconstitutional. It was a preliminary injunction.

That, I get. And I don't have a Facebook a page, but if somebody makes a Facebook page, they should be able to control what's on it because it's their message, it's their page. And there are other avenues. Somebody else can have their own Facebook page. So, I get that.

But here, you know, Twitter is like -- I don't know -- like a megaphone. It amplifies, broadcasts somebody's message, but it's his message. And my current conception is that the government couldn't censor that. And the fundamental issue is is he reasonably likely to prove that there was a sufficient

12:46 20

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connection between what the Secretary did in Twitter's conduct to make Twitter's conduct state action under that Blum line of cases.

MR. HORNSTINE: And if that is the fundamental question here, I think it's critical that we realize that Twitter didn't do what the Secretary's Office asked it to do. That tweet, as we just heard, that the Secretary's Office complained about is still on plaintiff's Twitter page.

So again, all due respect to the gravitas of my client, I'm not sure that the Secretary coerced Twitter into doing its bidding here, as he contends. Quite the opposite. He may well have been suspended. He may well have been forced to delete certain tweets, but not the one that the Secretary's Office complained about, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Well, suspension is another form of serious First Amendment concern. A suspension is a prior restraint. If I understand it, the way Dr. Shiva explained it to me, and tell me if I'm wrong, as a matter of fact, anybody much younger than me would know. He said he was suspended, that he wasn't allowed to tweet anything for seven days.

So let's say he wanted to tweet, "I'm a republican candidate, and I support Donald Trump," or, "I'm a republican candidate and I support Joseph Biden." It's political speech. He was prohibited from saying that on Twitter, right; is that right?

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MR. HORNSTINE: That is what he alleged. He alleges that he was suspended. But again, these are all good questions to be asking. Again, we have one instance in which the Secretary's Office lodged a complaint with Twitter, a private organization, and he alleges that he has been suspended. THE COURT: Well, there are two, they did it one other time. MR. HORNSTINE: That was with respect to another incident. THE COURT: Another person. MR. HORNSTINE: Another person, correct. I'm just talking about this plaintiff here. I apologize. And he was then unsuspended and then since that time has been suspended two other times. THE COURT: Because he keeps putting up tweets that the defendant finds offensive. MR. HORNSTINE: No, no. The four tweets that the Secretary's Office did not complain about -- again, but that's what he -- we're making a lot of assumptions here on this thin record, right? He has claimed, as I understand it, and plaintiff can correct me if I'm wrong, that every time he reposts the four tweets that he deleted or that he was required to delete by Twitter, again four that the Secretary's Office did not

complain about, his suspension kicks back into effect.

1 So again, how that is chargeable to the Secretary for tweets it did not complain about seems to stretch it a little 2 too thin, even if we are required to make certain inferences in his favor at this preliminary stage. 5 THE COURT: And what do we understand those tweets say, his emails back and forth with Ms. Tassinari? 7 MR. HORNSTINE: The four tweets that he claims he was 8 required to delete are not in the record. He characterizes them in his complaint in here as emails between himself and Ms. Tassinari. I believe -- I don't know -- this is again 12:47 10 11 something that he can clarify. We have attached to Ms. Tassinari's email some of the email traffic between 12 plaintiff and Ms. Tassinari. The substance of those emails is 13 14 in the record. 15 THE COURT: Hold on just a second. So these are part of docket number 15-2, Ms. Tassinari's --16 MR. HORNSTINE: There should be two emails with some 17 18 attachments. 19 THE COURT: I see the two, I do. Let me ask Dr. 12:48 20 Shiva, are these the emails you say you tweeted? 21 MR. AYYADURAI: That affidavit is missing the fourth 22 email, Your Honor. It's those three plus a fourth one, which 23 is missing. 24 THE COURT: Okay. Three of the four are in the 25 record.

1 MR. AYYADURAI: Three of the four emails. And I would just like to, if this is appropriate, Your Honor --2 3 THE COURT: Not yet, not yet. You'll get your chance. 4 MR. AYYADURAI: Okay. Thank you. 5 THE COURT: Although we're going to have to take a break pretty soon. Why don't you continue, Mr. Hornstine. 7 MR. HORNSTINE: I don't know where we had left off. 8 The only thing I was going to say is, again, those four tweets 9 are not in the record. We do have, at least according to 12:49 10 plaintiff's telling, three out of the four emails appended to 11 Ms. Tassinari's affidavit. 12 But again, the point remains, Your Honor, that the Secretary's Office didn't complain about that. I'm not sure 13 14 how it is chargeable for a suspension that apparently resulted 15 from something they didn't do. THE COURT: All right. I understand that argument. 16 MR. HORNSTINE: Very good. Again, I'm mindful that we 17 don't want to torture the court reporter, but unless the court 18 19 has any other questions on this issue, I'm happy to turn to Eleventh Amendment or mootness. 12:49 20 21 THE COURT: Go ahead. 22 MR. HORNSTINE: Very well. I'll start with mootness, 23 since I know the court's order from yesterday wanted to talk 24 about voluntary cessation. 25 Again, we have testimony here today that the

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Secretary's Office lodged a single complaint more than a month ago and that it has not reported plaintiff's tweets to Twitter since then. And we started with this question, or Your Honor started with this question about what is the relief that is being sought, which is an injunction essentially between now and next Tuesday to prevent the Secretary's Office from making additional reports to Twitter.

And we know from plaintiff's testimony that at least several of those days he is under Twitter suspension, so he cannot be posting additional tweets to Twitter, true, false, misleading or otherwise. It seems that this may be a case that is potentially moot. And, you know, the --

THE COURT: Let me ask you -- I'm sorry.

MR. HORNSTINE: Please.

THE COURT: Because this could cut through some of this. Although Twitter is not a party, if I were to find for present purposes -- and anything I find now is preliminary -- that what Twitter did is likely state action, if I issued a TRO, it would run to anybody acting in concert with the Secretary. That would include Twitter.

And this again came up in *Baptiste*, and I wrote about it there, and I've written about it before. If I'm told, one, if I were to say, in effect, I'll issue a TRO if necessary to say there shall be no more reports of Dr. Shiva before November 4th --

1 MR. HORNSTINE: November 3rd, Your Honor. THE COURT: November 3rd is the election. That's why 2 I picked the 4th. I know he was saying the 4th. 3 MR. HORNSTINE: I understand. 4 5 THE COURT: You can point that out. See, he's a 6 candidate. He doesn't even know what day is Election Day. 7 This is the marketplace of ideas. So I'd say the 4th because people can be voting until 8:00 or something on the 3rd. 9 Then if I was told today, soon, we agree to that, we 12:52 10 won't do this again, and then this all can get -- you know, 11 either the case will be over or it will be moot. And the only 12 question might be whether I should issue a TRO that might 13 require Twitter to unsuspend him. 14 But I mean, that's something -- finish, but this is it. I mean, these are questions of comity. This is Federal 15 Court. This was an issue right up front in Baptiste. I asked 16 them at the first hearing, you know, if I issue a declaratory 17 judgment on preliminary injunction, will you follow it or will 18 19 I need to issue an injunction? And they said, We'll follow it, and they did. Even though it was just a ruling on a 12:53 20 21 preliminary injunction, the regulation was changed, amended to 22 remove the offense in part. 23 So, anyway. On the other hand, I think it's 24 foreseeable -- he's suspended, but at some point between now 25 and Tuesday he may well tweet about this hearing and maybe

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12:55 20

he'll characterize it falsely. Maybe he'll mischaracterize what I have said so far or what I say in any decision I render.

And then, you know, if there's the threat that he'll get reported again, he'll get suspended again for that, and there won't be the opportunity to litigate this, to spend another couple of days on this issue before the election date that's very important to him, then I would think you haven't demonstrated the case as moot because in your memo you say he hasn't proven it's going to recur, but the Supreme Court says the burden is on the defendant here to show it's not likely to recur.

MR. HORNSTINE: If we're talking about mootness, I agree on the burden issue. On the Eleventh Amendment issue, I do believe it is his burden to show some likelihood of future violations that can be enjoined. Although the issue is similar, I think the burden is different.

THE COURT: Why do you -- I need to understand your Eleventh Amendment argument on this a little better.

MR. HORNSTINE: Okay. So I think we've already talked about *Pennhurst*, no state law claims, *Quern*, no damages. I think the only real issue is whether or not this court has the ability under the Eleventh Amendment to issue a prospective *Ex Parte Young* type injunction on a forward-going basis for something that has occurred in the past.

And the First Circuit's decision in Hootstein, which

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         we cite which --
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                  THE COURT: Which case is that?
     3
                  MR. HORNSTINE: Hootstein. H-o-o-t-s-t-e-i-n, I
         believe is the spelling, Your Honor. It was a case involving
     4
     5
         DCF and child custody.
     6
                  THE COURT: Hold on just a second.
     7
                  MR. HORNSTINE: Of course.
     8
                  THE COURT: What is the citation, please?
                  MR. HORNSTINE: I'm pulling that up, if you'll give me
     9
12:56 10
         just one moment, Your Honor. Excuse me, I may have said it's a
    11
         First Circuit case. I apologize. It's a D. Mass. case.
    12
         citation is 670 Federal Supplement 2d 110, Hootstein v.
    13
         Collins.
    14
                  THE COURT: All right. My law clerks in the other
         room when we break will -- I don't have it.
    15
                  MR. HORNSTINE: That case in turn, Your Honor may have
    16
         it. It's a Supreme Court case from 1986. It's Papasan,
    17
         P-a-p-a-s-a-n, which citation is 478 U.S. 265.
    18
    19
                  THE COURT: I do have that. Just a minute. What's
12:57 20
         the pertinent page?
    21
                  MR. HORNSTINE: The pertinent pin site from Papasan is
    22
         277-278. And the quote, I'll read it --
    23
                  THE COURT: Let me get it.
    24
                  MR. HORNSTINE: I apologize. I'm ahead of you.
    25
         apologize. We talk about this at pages 8 and 9 of the
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defendant's brief.

12:59 20

12:58 10

THE COURT: What is the pertinent quote?

MR. HORNSTINE: The pertinent quote from the *Papasan* case is, "Young has been focused on cases in which a violation of federal law by a state official is ongoing as opposed to cases in which federal law has been violated at one time or over a period of time in the past."

The Hootstein case, which I know Your Honor doesn't have, the pertinent quote from it — this is again on page 9 of our brief. "The Ex Parte Young doctrine then only allows federal courts to exercise jurisdiction over a suit in which the plaintiff alleges ongoing violations of federal law. Suits that seek redress of past wrongs are still barred by the Eleventh Amendment."

THE COURT: All right. So actually it seems to me that that goes to a point I was just raising and may affect what I just said off the top of my head. I said I could issue an order, a TRO, to the Secretary and all acting in concert with him that would require Twitter to unsuspend the defendant. However, maybe I can't do that under this doctrine.

If I'm concerned -- if the requirements are met, I might not find this is moot because I don't have an assurance that between now and next Wednesday Dr. Shiva won't be reported again or reported again without coming to me.

MR. HORNSTINE: Reported again by whom, let me ask you

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that, Your Honor.
     1
                  THE COURT: Well, by the Secretary.
     2
     3
                  MR. HORNSTINE: As Your Honor well knows, we can't
         tell Twitter to do much of anything.
     4
     5
                  THE COURT: No. Okay. But it won't be reported again
     6
         by the Secretary at least. If I had that assurance and the
     7
         Secretary -- if he says something that the Secretary thinks is
     8
         false and you think is harmful to the integrity of the election
         process and public confidence in it, you say, That's false. We
01:00 10
         didn't destroy any ballots. Federal law doesn't require us to
    11
         make images of this.
    12
                  I mean, that would have been the answer a number of
    13
         years ago. But, okay. So I'm going to have to focus on this a
    14
         little bit.
                  MR. HORNSTINE: Your Honor, again, I'm mindful of the
    15
               If it is worthwhile -- and again, this gets back to a
    16
         point from our affidavits yesterday, we've never really met and
    17
         conferred on this motion. If the court wants me to, and the
    18
    19
         court asked us to have somebody with authority appear on this
01:01 20
         call --
    21
                  THE COURT: Who is that?
    22
                  MR. HORNSTINE: Ms. Tassinari.
    23
                  THE COURT: So she has authority --
    24
                  MR. HORNSTINE: I'm happy to talk with my client
    25
         offline, and we can address this if the court wants after the
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break. Would that be a useful use of our time? 1 2 THE COURT: Yes, yes. And you can also talk to Dr. 3 I mean, I kind of skipped over that. The meet and confer is very important. 4 5 If this case goes on, Dr. Shiva, you have to follow the rules, and I'm not surprised you're an intelligent person, 7 given your employment at MIT, among other things. But, you 8 know, you've got a reasonable understanding of certain principles, and you're entitled to represent yourself. I think 01:02 10 you're doing a good job. But you're going to have to read the 11 rules and follow them because some of these issues, when 12 lawyers talk at least, you know, they reach an accommodation and they don't have to be litigated this intensely. 13 14 So I think this is a good idea. It's 1:00. I think that the defendants should talk. Mr. Hornstine, talk to your 15 client, see if there's some kind of representation you want 16 17 to --18 MR. HORNSTINE: Yes, Your Honor. 19 THE COURT: And Dr. Shiva, do you object to giving them your phone number, or maybe they have your email address. 01:03 20 21 You can email it to them. 22 MR. HORNSTINE: I have plaintiff's email address, Your 23 Honor. 24 THE COURT: It may be they'll want to talk to you 25 before this is over, before about 1:45. But what they might

1 want to talk to you about is -- I think you understand me, but let me just tell you all my tentative thinking to be as 2 transparent as possible because your interest, Dr. Shiva, as I 3 understand it, is being able to tweet before the election at 4 5 least without interference, as you would call it, from the Secretary of State; is that right? 7 MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, Your Honor. And also, if I could 8 add one thing. I've come to find out today that the Secretary of State has special privilege in communicating with Twitter, 01:04 10 particularly through the National Association of Secretaries of 11 State, which is frankly a little bit alarming to me. And I 12 also want to make one point. In Ms. O'Malley's comments she said in her complaint she also referred to those emails. 13 14 just want to make a point of fact for my notes. THE COURT: But here, your interest is getting back on 15 Twitter as soon as possible before the election, correct? 16 17 MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, yes, Your Honor, it is my 18 platform. 19 THE COURT: And your understanding is that you're 01:04 20 suspended until tomorrow or maybe Sunday, right? 21 MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, yes. 22 THE COURT: And this is good, too, Mr. Hornstine, 23 because if the Secretary of State is going to make certain 24 representations, you'd have to tell the National Association --25 you know, if you tell me, We're not going to report him, you'll

you probably need to tell me also you'll ask the National Association not to report him.

MR. HORNSTINE: I will address the issues with my client during the break. If it pleases the court, not only are we mindful about plaintiff's candidacy, but both Ms. Tassinari and Ms. O'Malley also have to run a general election for the state. Does the court need them to appear this afternoon?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. HORNSTINE: If so --

01:06 20

01:05 10

THE COURT: But it won't be that long. Well, they'll need to hear my decision, because I'm going to hear from you, and I'm going to give you a decision this afternoon. But let me tell you what my present thoughts are.

MR. HORNSTINE: Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Because this may obviate it, the need to decide. So here are my thoughts. Even though service hasn't been perfected, the defendant has had notice. And I have the authority to issue a temporary restraining order. It could have been done in certain circumstances without notice under Rule 65. The import of Will is when the issue is prospective injunctive relief, section 1983 provides a remedy for violations of constitutional rights, including First Amendment rights in cases against a state official acting in his official capacity. So that authority exists under footnote 10 of Will and a number of other cases.

01:09 20

01:08 10

The testimony I heard, which I believe is candid and credible, was also helpful because it amplifies the affidavits which say there was a report. The closest issue in my mind, and it's closer than it was based solely on the papers, is whether what I'll call the Blum test for converting Twitter's action into state action is met, or, to be more precise, whether it will probably be proven. Because now we do know that Twitter gives high priority to reviewing reports or complaints from election officials and acts on them quickly, and they acted on Dr. Shiva's account, as I understand it, quickly after getting the report from the Secretary here and also from the National Association.

So it may be probable that he will ultimately prove that state action is involved here. If state action is involved here, then it appears to me probable that he will prove that his First Amendment rights have been violated.

I understand that the government can control its own speech under Rosenberger, but I think that doesn't mean it can, in concert with somebody else, censor speech, particularly political speech. This would be a content-based regulation subject to strict scrutiny, which requires the government to demonstrate a compelling interest in narrow tailoring to achieve its interests, as the First Circuit said in Rideout, 837 F.3d 65, 71.

And there would be a particular problem here because

01:11 10

01:11 20

Dr. Shiva's account was suspended, which arguably is a form of a prior restraint on his ability to speak. And prior restraints, it's the Pentagon papers case, New York Times v.

United States, et cetera, you know, prior restraints are almost always invalid.

So then there would be a question, though, as to whether there is a continuing violation. And I understand the argument better now. But this is going to depend a little bit. But this also merges with the *Already* doctrine that I discussed with you.

Even if there's not a continuing violation, is there a sufficient likelihood that the issue will arise again and not be capable of being litigated and resolved in a timely way.

And that may be, and I'd have to think about the interaction of those two doctrines.

But again, if the Secretary of State is prepared to represent that it won't file any more reports at least until after the election and that it will ask the National Association not to file reports, and that if it believes Dr. Shiva has said something false, it will use its own Twitter account in a non-defamatory way to answer false speech with true speech and expect that it will prevail in the marketplace of ideas, which perhaps is an antique notion, but it's one I've believed in deeply.

So that's my present thinking. And Dr. Shiva, if they

1 do make that kind of representation and then you can get back 2 to Twitter on Sunday, whenever it will be, after tomorrow, I will either find -- and you might agree to this. You should 3 see -- if they offer you that and you're agreeable, then you 4 5 can go back to campaigning. Because, unfortunately, you want to be campaigning. They want to be preparing for this very 7 consequential and challenging election. And then after the election, you all will confer and tell me whether the case is 8 over or whether in some deliberate fashion it can be litigated. 01:13 10 Okay? Do you think you understand that? 11 MR. AYYADURAI: Yes, Your Honor. May I just repeat 12 what you just shared? 13 THE COURT: Not all of it. 14 MR. AYYADURAI: Just the three points. The three 15 points you said was that, if the Secretary of State can make a representation they will no more file reports with Twitter; 16 two, they will also ask the National Association not to 17 interfere; and they will also use their own Twitter account if 18 19 they differ with me in the marketplace of ideas. 01:13 20 THE COURT: That's what I'm suggesting. 21 MR. AYYADURAI: I can agree to that. Obviously there 22 has to be written assurances. I'm fine with that. 23 THE COURT: Well, now you know -- let's do this before 24 I faint with hunger. Do you want to take a few minutes with 25 your clients? It may be that we can resolve this soon, and

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1
         they can get back to their important work.
     2
                  MR. HORNSTINE: I think that would be very useful.
         I'm mindful that my client's witnesses have a 2:30 election
     3
         security call with some federal officials.
     5
                  THE COURT: Here. It's 1:15. We can put you all in a
         breakout room.
     7
                  MR. HORNSTINE: As long as it is a secure breakout
     8
         room.
     9
                  THE COURT: It's secure. It will be entirely
01:14 10
         privileged conversations.
    11
                  MR. HORNSTINE: Very good.
    12
                  THE COURT: You'll tell Ms. Loret when you're ready to
         come back.
    13
    14
                  MR. HORNSTINE: And how is the best way for me to
         contact Ms. Loret?
    15
                  COURTROOM CLERK: You can just send me an email.
    16
                  MR. HORNSTINE: Very good. I have your email address.
    17
    18
                  THE COURT: Then I'd like you, please, Ms. Loret, to
    19
         put my staff and me and the court reporter in another breakout
01:15 20
         room. But set up theirs first, please.
    21
                  COURTROOM CLERK: Yes.
    22
                  MR. HORNSTINE: Thank you, Your Honor. We will revert
    23
         and hopefully you can get a snack while we do that.
    24
                  THE COURT: I'm going to be talking to my clerks, but
    25
         thank you.
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1
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Your Honor, do I just stay here?
     2
                  THE COURT: Yes.
     3
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Okay.
     4
                   (Recess taken 1:15 p.m. - 1:32 p.m.)
     5
                  THE COURT: Okay. Let's see. There's Dr. Shiva.
     6
         don't see him, but he appears to be there. Dr. Shiva, are you
     7
         on?
                  COURTROOM CLERK: He's on the call.
     9
                  THE COURT: He's on mute and I can't see him, so he
01:32 10
         may not be available.
    11
                  COURTROOM CLERK: Let me try to get in touch with him.
    12
                  MR. AYYADURAI: I'm sorry, Your Honor.
    13
                  THE COURT: Okay. Mr. Hornstine, what do you have to
    14
         report?
    15
                  MR. HORNSTINE: Yes, Your Honor. First of all, thank
    16
         you for the opportunity to speak with the representatives from
         the Secretary's Office. They will agree as follows:
    17
    18
                  That, first, that they will or that the Secretary's
    19
         Office will not make any reports to Twitter concerning
01:33 20
         plaintiff's Twitter accounts between now, and just to put a
    21
         time on it specifically, 9:00 a.m. the day after Election Day,
    22
         so that would be Wednesday, November 4th; that we will, upon
         conclusion of today's proceedings, email NASED, National
    23
    24
         Association of State Election Directors, and instruct them not
    25
         to do the same for the same period of time.
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And if the court wishes to set a status conference for
     1
         sometime after Election Day, we would be happy to do that.
     2
                  THE COURT: Couple of things.
                  MR. HORNSTINE: And on that basis, Your Honor, we
     4
     5
         believe that the motion should be denied without prejudice as
         moot.
     7
                  THE COURT: Okay. Dr. Shiva, is that still
     8
         acceptable?
     9
                  MR. AYYADURAI: Your Honor, if I can just review, I
01:34 10
         believe there's one point that's missing and one clarification,
    11
         if I may?
    12
                  THE COURT: Yes.
                  MR. AYYADURAI: It is -- the first one is fine, which
    13
    14
         is that they represent that they will no longer report me to
         Twitter until 9:00 a.m. November 4th.
    15
                  The second is, it's not only the National Association
    16
         of Election Directors but it's also the National Association of
    17
    18
         Secretaries of State. There are two organizations that are
    19
         involved here. So I just want to clarify that.
01:35 20
                  And the third point I believe you made was that they
         will, if they have a difference with me on this matter, that
    21
    22
         they will raise the objections on Twitter. They will not as a
    23
         part of --
    24
                  THE COURT: They will not what?
    25
                  MR. AYYADURAI: They will raise their objections of
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1
         anything that I tweet out on Twitter, on social media.
     2
                  THE COURT: That they can?
     3
                  MR. AYYADURAI: They can, yeah. I'm not here to
         restrict their speech, but if they have a difference, I believe
     4
     5
         you stated that they should go to --
     6
                  THE COURT: Well, here. Let me ask the following.
     7
         You said you would email NASED. Does Ms. Tassinari hold an
         office in that organization?
     9
                  MR. HORNSTINE: She can answer that question. I'll
01:35 10
         let her speak for herself.
    11
                  MS. TASSINARI: I'm the president-elect of the
         National Association of State Election Directors.
    12
    13
                  THE COURT: Then the executive director will be under
    14
         you.
    15
                  MS. TASSINARI: Typically she's reporting to the
         president of the association, but I can certainly send an email
    16
         that will include the president on that.
    17
    18
                  THE COURT: I think it would be prudent so we don't
    19
         end up back here as a result of any misunderstandings, if you
01:36 20
         talk to them as well. Send them an email promptly. You've got
    21
         other things to do.
    22
                  MS. TASSINARI: I certainly can. The president of the
    23
         National Association of State Election Directors is in
    24
         Washington State, so it's a three-hour difference. Again, we
    25
         are all preparing for a huge election, so I don't know that
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I'll be able to communicate with them.
     1
                  THE COURT: I had in mind you would call the executive
     2
     3
         director. I just think it's prudent. But you'll communicate
         with them.
     4
     5
                  MR. HORNSTINE: And Your Honor, just one
         clarification. I know plaintiff was asking about the National
     7
         Association of Secretaries of State. My client had no contact
         with NASS about plaintiff's tweets, is my understanding, so
         there would be nothing for us to instruct them not to do, or
01:37 10
         there would be nothing for us to undo vis-à-vis NASS.
    11
                  THE COURT: Dr. Shiva, is that agreeable?
    12
                  MR. AYYADURAI: That's fine. I was under the
         understanding, I heard National Association of Secretaries of
    13
    14
         State and --
    15
                  THE COURT: Here is what I'm going to do. I'm going
         to issue an order that says, "In connection with the hearing on
    16
         the motion for temporary restraining order, the parties have
    17
         agreed, one, that the Secretary, the defendant, Secretary of
    18
    19
         State will not report any tweets or complain about any tweets
01:38 20
         by Dr. Shiva again before 9:00 a.m. on November 4th.
    21
                   "Two, the Secretary of State will" -- Ms. Tassinari
         said "direct," if that word is okay, I'll say "direct." I
    22
         might say "ask" -- "ask the National Association of" -- what's
    23
         the name of it? National Association of Election Directors?
    24
    25
                  MR. AYYADURAI: We can't hear you, Adam.
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1 THE COURT: National Association of what? 2 MS. TASSINARI: State Election Directors. 3 THE COURT: -- "not to report to Twitter any tweets before 9:00 a.m., that the defendant is free to respond to any 4 5 tweets by Dr. Shiva by Twitter if it chooses to do so. As agreed by the parties, the motion for temporary restraining 7 order is therefore moot. This case is stayed." 8 And I would say, you know, catch your breath. 9 give you a date like November 10th or 11th or 12th to confer 01:39 10 and tell me whether the plaintiff wishes to dismiss the case 11 and, if not, how each side proposes it proceed. I don't think 12 I'd want to do a motion for preliminary injunction. probably want expedited discovery and consolidate the trial on 13 14 the merits with a hearing on preliminary injunction. 15 But it sounds to me, particularly going back to the very first thing that Dr. Shiva said in response to my question 16 of what relief, that maybe this case will be over after the 17 18 election. Okay? 19 And I think this is a constructive resolution, and 01:40 20 it's good that you could reach an agreement, and the 21 representatives of the Secretary of State can get back to their 22 important work, and Dr. Shiva can get back to the role he's 23 playing in our democracy. 24 Is there anything further in this matter for today? 25 MR. AYYADURAI: No, Your Honor. Thank you.

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THE COURT: All right. You may want to -- you can
 1
 2
     decide whether you want to order the transcript of this
 3
     hearing. If there are going to be further proceedings in this
 4
     case, it will be necessary for you to order the transcript.
 5
     Otherwise, it's up to you. Okay?
 6
              MR. AYYADURAI: Thank you, Your Honor.
 7
              MR. HORNSTINE: Thank you, Your Honor.
              THE COURT: Thank you very much. Good luck to all.
 8
 9
     We will be in recess.
10
              (Adjourned, 1:41 p.m.)
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1	CERTIFICATE OF OFFICIAL REPORTER
2	
3	I, Kelly Mortellite, Registered Merit Reporter
4	and Certified Realtime Reporter, in and for the United States
5	District Court for the District of Massachusetts, do hereby
6	certify that the foregoing transcript is a true and correct
7	transcript of the stenographically reported proceedings held in
8	the above-entitled matter to the best of my skill and ability.
9	Dated this 4th day of November, 2020.
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